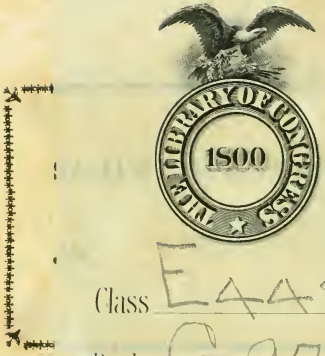

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MISSION TO ENGLAND.

MISSION TO ENGLAND,

IN BEHALF OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

BY R. R. GURLEY.

WASHINGTON.

PUBLISHED BY WM. W. MORRISON,

PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

1841.

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TO

THE FRIENDS OF AFRICAN

COLONIZATION AND CIVILIZATION,

IN

THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN,

THIS WORK

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

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PREFACE.

Although in the statement here submitted to the public, I have not attempted to render due acknowledgments for great kindness and aid received from individuals, both in this country and Great Britain, yet I cannot permit the work to go forth without some expression of my sense of the liberality of the Managers of the New York Society, in their appropriation for the mission, and also of the generosity with which several philanthropic Americans contributed individually to sustain it.*

Nor can I ever forget my obligations to those in England and Scotland, who rendered the time spent in those countries, among the most delightful periods of my life. I have seen and felt enough (notwithstanding the general unpopularity of the cause I represented,) of the candour, integrity, courtesy, and hospitality of the English people, to make me deprecate, even beyond what it is possible to express, the growth of unfriendly sentiments between them and the citizens of the United States. It is the duty of all good men in both countries to cultivate mutual confidence as well as forbearance, and to become united in the covenant of perpetual peace. Let one thousand of our best citizens annually visit Great Britain, and an equal number of high minded Englishmen annually come to America, to hold social intercourse with our people, and the two nations will never rush together in conflict.

* See Appendix, page 264.

A distinguished American, Junius Smith, L. L. D., now residing in London, and to whose ability, energy and perseverance the nations are indebted for the triumphant application of steam to ship navigation, deserves (like the immortal Fulton,) to be honored by a statue in every civilized state and kingdom of the world; unless, indeed, (which Heaven forbid, and we will not believe,) the malignant passions of our nature are to become more furious by all that should allay them, and convert the occasions and means of charity and beneficence into agents and instruments of destruction. I should feel myself guilty alike of ingratitude and injustice, did I permit this opportunity to pass without alluding, briefly, to several gentlemen in England whose good counsels and cheerful and obliging attentions are indelibly impressed on my heart.

To Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, who is emphatically the friend of the whole human race, I am indebted for a series of kind acts, extending through the entire period of my stay, and set off by an admirable simplicity and grace of manner which is as impossible to forget as to describe.

To Joseph Travers, Esq., who is ever devoted to the cause of human freedom and happiness, and of whose high sense of honor, courtesy and liberality I had much experience, my thanks are especially due.

Benjamin Smith, Esq., M. P., ever engaged in works of national or philanthropic interest, who suggested and urged forward the plan for effectually ventilating the ships in the Niger expedition, was ready, at all times, to afford me, in the most polite and obliging manner, his good counsels and aid.

Petty Vaughan, Esq., and his venerable uncle, William Vaughan, Esq., who are well known throughout this

country for their benevolent exertions, and innumerable acts of kindness to Americans, are entitled to my warmest gratitude.

Daniel Lister, Esq., presided many evenings at the meetings in Egyptian Hall, and by the generous expenditure of time, thought and money in furtherance of the object of my mission, proved himself not less zealous in the cause of humanity, than distinguished for hospitality and all the virtues of social life.

Robert Bell, Esq., who has won a high reputation in the world of letters, (particulary by his history of Russia, and his lives of the English poets,) and whose heart is as warm and generous as ever beat in an Irish bosom, spared no pains to promote my object.

Dr. Costello, a gentlemen of fine talents and noble spirit, rendered me much aid. Nor should I omit the name of A. B. Wright, Esq., ever disposed to further my views, and whose rare good sense, energy and benevolence, are opening before him the path of honor and usefulness.

George Catlin, Esq., who has secured a lasting reputation by the wonderful genius and energy displayed in his extraordinary collection of Indian costumes and portraits, evinced a deep concern for my success, and with a noble disinterestedness belonging to his character, afforded me every aid in his power.

I am also under obligations to Junius Smith, L. L. D., Thomas Campbell, L. L. D., (the poet,) Messrs. A. & G. Ralston, the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, the Rev. Dr. Burder, of Hackney, the Rev. John Clayton, of the Poultrey Chapel, the Rev. J. N. Coleman, of the Isle of Wight, the Rev. Algernon Wells, Secretary of the Congregational Union, also to Dr. Wm. Beattie, (author of several works,)

Sir James Clarke, (well known in the medical world,) to Henry Inskip, Esq.,(of the press,) Mr. Stirling, S. Bannister, Esq., (Editor of the African Colonizer,) and many others.

Indeed, it is impossible for me here to speak in appropriate terms, of the many personal civilities received in England, or of the generous and hospitable attentions of many friends in Scotland, to whom I am bound by indissoluble ties of gratitude, respect, and affection. The hope that I shall again see them warms my heart, nor can I cease to pray that Heaven's choicest blessings may be theirs.

It will be seen that such was the state of the public mind in England towards the American Colonization Society, as to render any application for funds injudicious, as it probably would have proved, mostly, unsuccessful. But far distant be the day, when English and American Christians shall hesitate to co-operate in such enterprises of benevolence as are of undoubted benefit to the human race.

When I consider the well established settlements of Liberia; the sympathy of thousands of my countrymen in the cause of Africa and her dispersed and afflicted children; the prosperous missions recently commenced upon her shore by Christians of this and other lands; the mighty movement of Great Britain for her civilization, and how obviously the Almighty is summoning his agents for her deliverance, from among her own sons, released from servitude, and trained up in the schools of Christianity to become her teachers and guides, I cannot doubt, that the shades of her long night are vanishing away, and that the day-star is soon to arise in her heart.

MISSION TO ENGLAND.

Public attention, both in America and England, was attracted strongly, during the early part of last year, to a work by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, on the slave trade and its remedy. The distinguished reputation of the author, long the intimate associate of Wilberforce in the war upon the slave trade, and subsequently a leader in Parliament for the cause of West Indian emancipation, as well as the remarkable developments and propositions of the work itself, gave to it extraordinary interest. The fact brought to light, that while Great Britain alone had expended more than fifteen millions of pounds sterling for the suppression of the slave trade, and made a still greater sacrifice in the loss of human life, this traffic had been increasing, and with augmented guilt and misery—that Africa was robbed thereby, annually, of half a million of her inhabitants, a moiety of whom perished either in capture or before the close of the first year—was so appalling as to excite the deepest sensibilities of our nature. The remedy proposed by Sir Thomas for this enormous evil, appeared to many of the friends of the African race in the United States to involve, generally, the principles and policy which had for twenty years been adopted and pursued by the American Colonization Society. From its origin, in the various speeches, reports, and other publications of this society, the extinc-

tion of the slave trade by the colonization of Africa, was represented as the sure and grand result of its wisely conducted and vigorously sustained system of colonization. "It was expected that the operations of the American Colonization Society would unfetter and invigorate the faculties, improve the circumstances, animate the hopes, and enlarge the usefulness of the free people of color; that by awakening thought, nullifying objections, presenting motives convincing to the judgment, and pursuasive to the humanity of masters, they would encourage emancipation; that in Africa their results would be seen, in civilized and christian communities, in the substitution of a lawful and beneficial commerce for the abominable slave trade, of peaceful agriculture for a predatory warfare, knowledge for ignorance, the arts that refine for vices that degrade, and for superstitions vile, cruel and blood-stained, the ennobling service and pure worship of the true God. It was believed that the fellowship of the north with the south, in African colonization, would tend powerfully to produce just opinions on the subject of slavery, and prepare for the removal of the evil without endangering the integrity and peace of the Union. It was clear that the principles and measures of the society interfered not with those who desired to meliorate the condition of the people of color, bond or free, who might remain in our country, but in fact contributed to produce those kind and considerate sentiments towards both, which alone can admit them to all the privileges possible, while here and denied a distinct national existence. But the founders of the society saw not *"by what authority we could limit the Almighty, and tie down the destiny of the colored people to a condi-

*Dr. Beecher.

'tion so low, or why they should be satisfied with it 'compared with the blessings of nationality.' "*

Having examined, attentively, the work of Sir T. F. Buxton, I was equally impressed and delighted by the scheme therein submitted to the people and Government of England, and at a public meeting held in the middle Dutch Church of the city of New York, the 28th of May, 1840, I presented a brief outline of the plan, stated the most striking facts that enforced its necessity and importance, and offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this meeting has heard with high gratification of the measures proposed by the Hon. Thomas Fowell Buxton for the suppression of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa, by the development of her vast agricultural and commercial resources, and the intellectual and moral elevation of her people on their own territory, through the agency of the Government, and the humane and Christian exertions of the people of England.

Resolved, That the scheme of Mr. Buxton, which receives the sanction of the English Government, if prosecuted on the truly philanthropic principles by which it is guarded in Mr. Buxton's work, is in accordance with the views of the founders and supporters of the American Colonization Society in its great features, and is of magnificent promise to Africa and her children throughout the world, and worthy to be carried into effect by the united powers of Christendom.

Resolved, That the noble example of the British Government, in preparing, at great expense, to strengthen her naval force on the African coast, and to explore the

* Life of Ashmun.

Niger and other great rivers of Africa, is worthy of imitation by the Government of our own country, and that we recommend to the friends of Africa, to address the Congress of the United States, soliciting their effectual co-operation in the great work of suppressing the slave trade, and raising the population of Africa to prosperity and respect among the nations of the world.

Resolved, That in view of the evidence presented in the work of Mr. Buxton, of the great resources, agricultural and commercial, of Africa, there is reason to believe that companies formed in the United States, for the cultivation of the soil, or to prosecute lawful commerce with the people of Africa, would be amply rewarded for their exertions, while they conferred good incalculable upon a suffering and barbarous quarter of the globe.

Resolved, That in the opening prospects of civilization, free institutions and Christianity in Africa, her long exiled children are encouraged to return, that they may have the honor of aiding to heal her wounds, and rescue her from disgrace; and at the same time share in the blessings which she, once freed from her present evils, is destined to confer upon her inhabitants in coming times.

Resolved, That it should be deeply impressed upon our hearts, that America is bound especially to send to Africa free institutions, and men capable of maintaining them—gifts more valuable than all others, except Christianity, which, in union with other Christian nations, we should be most prompt and anxious to impart to her superstitious and long degraded inhabitants.

On this occasion several gentlemen of the New York Colonization Society responded eloquently to the sentiments of these resolutions. The measures proposed by Sir T. F. Buxton, and which had already been sanctioned by the British Government, indicated to many of the

friends of Africa in the United States, a mighty change of opinion in the English mind, and gave omen of a new and vast movement to deliver that quarter of the globe from barbarism, the slave trade, and slavery, and introduce it to the immunities and honors of civilized nations. Several distinguished friends of the Colonization Society thought it important that some gentleman, well acquainted with the views and proceedings of that institution, should be commissioned to visit England, and confer with the chairman and committee of the African Civilization Society, (which had just been organised to execute the scheme recommended by Sir T. F. Buxton,) and among those who most zealously expressed this opinion was the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Parent Colonization Society, with several prominent members of the New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania Societies.

As the subject of a mission to England, it was said, had been unfavorably received by the Directors at their annual meeting in January, 1840, the chairman of the Executive Committee of those Directors desired that the mission should be carried into effect solely by the authority, and at the expense, of one or more State societies. The result of many deliberations and conversations among the friends of African Colonization, in regard to this mission, is embodied in the following resolutions, submitted on the 12th of June, 1840, to the Directors of the American Colonization Society.* We quote from the minutes:

* The members present were Messrs. Halsted, Mason, Clark, Williams, Wilkeson, Phelps, Garland, Gurley, (Secretary;) of the Executive Committee, Messrs. Garland, Coxe, Lindsley, and Seaton.

"The following communication and resolutions from the New York city Colonization Society, and which have been adopted by the Pennsylvania Society, were submitted, and ordered to be placed on the records of the Board:

"At a meeting of the Board of the New York city Colonization Society, the following resolutions were adopted:

"*Resolved*, That in the view of the important measures now in prosecution in Great Britain, in relation to the suppression of the slave trade, and the civilization of Africa, this Board believe that it would be highly useful to send a delegate to England, for the purpose of receiving information of the proceedings about to be pursued, and of ascertaining how far the friends of African colonization in this country may co-operate in the benevolent design.

"*Resolved*, That it be respectfully suggested to the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, at Washington, either to make an appointment of such a delegate, or if they are of opinion that it ought to be done by the Board of Directors of that institution, to call a meeting of said Board for that purpose.

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Board the Rev. R. R. Gurley, from his long connection with the Parent Society, his intimate acquaintance with every thing relating to the colonization cause, his great engagedness in its promotion, and his peculiar talents and facilities of communicating on the subject, would be peculiarly fitted for such a mission, and that he be very respectfully recommended by this Board for said appointment.

"*Resolved*, That in the event of his appointment, it be also respectfully recommended that the salary which he

now receives as Secretary be continued, and that this Board will be responsible for his necessary travelling expenses, provided that any contributions he may receive while abroad be considered applicable to the reimbursement of what may be advanced or paid by this Board on that account."

As these resolutions had been entrusted to me by their authors, with a request that I would communicate them to the Directors, when about to be taken up for consideration, I rose, and (according to my best recollection,) expressed a conviction of the great value of the facts and suggestions contained in the work of Sir T. F. Buxton—that the plan urged by him upon the reason and conscience of England was similar to that of the Colonization Society—that mutual good understanding and co-operation between the philanthropists of America and England, in their endeavors for the civilization of Africa, was desirable—that the hostility of the anti-slavery organizations would prove great, if not insurmountable obstacles to union—that the Abolitionists of this country had anxiously, and probably with success, sought to gain the respect and confidence of the English people—that, though I believed the proposed mission might be useful, I had little expectation of great immediate results, far less of large pecuniary contributions—that, ordinarily, the prejudices planted in the mind of a great nation were not easily or suddenly removed, nor its sentiments but gradually and slowly changed—and, finally, that in view of the uncertainties and difficulties which must inevitably encompass him who should represent and advocate in England the cause of African colonization, I must say, emphatically, (however agreeable the anticipations of a visit to that country might otherwise be,) that I could

feel no strong desire for the appointment. Indeed, I was distrustful of my own judgment in regard to the policy of the mission, and, though cherishing hope of great final benefit should it be prosecuted with prudence and energy, I was happy that it rested with the Directors either to sanction or reject it. The following resolutions, offered by Mr. Coxe, were, after I had retired, considered and adopted:

"*Resolved*, That this Board has received with feelings of great respect, the resolutions and proceedings of the Colonization Societies of New York and Pennsylvania, in reference to the appointment of an agent or commissioner on behalf of the American Colonization Society, to proceed to England, for the purpose of promoting the interests of the great cause of African civilization and improvement.

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Board events which have recently transpired in England present the most encouraging prospects to the friends of Africa, and that it is highly important that measures should be promptly taken to assure harmonious action among those who profess to be animated by the same spirit, and actuated by the same motives.

"*Resolved*, That the Rev. R. R. Gurley, corresponding secretary of the American Colonization Society, be, and he is hereby authorized to proceed to England, with all convenient despatch, with general discretionary powers, under the instructions from the Executive Committee, to communicate to the friends of African civilization in that country, the policy and views of this society, to collect such information as may be valuable, to cement a friendly understanding and co-operation, and to lay the foundation of an effective and harmonious action in the

promotion of the benevolent objects which the friends of Africa on both sides of the Atlantic have at heart."

The substance of these resolutions is embodied in the following letter or commission, prepared and placed in my hands by Mr. Clay, the President of the society:

"Be it known to all persons whom it may concern that the Rev. R. R. Gurley, secretary of the American Colonization Society, has been appointed, by resolutions of the directors thereof, an agent to proceed to England to promote the interests of the said society; to explain and enforce its objects; to remove prejudices against it; to communicate with the friends of African colonization and African civilization in Great Britain; to conciliate public opinion in that kingdom towards the American Colonization Society; to collect all useful and valuable information in respect to the design and exertions of humane and benevolent associations and individuals to elevate the moral and physical condition of Africa; and, generally, to cement the friendship and secure harmony and co-operation between the friends of Africa in England and the United States, in the great and good work of introducing civilization and Christianity into that quarter of the globe. And the said R. R. Gurley, agent as aforesaid, is to act in conformity with instructions which may have been, or hereafter shall be given to him, by the aforesaid directors, in the execution of his agency aforesaid, and to make a full report of his proceedings to them.

"In testimony of the said appointment, for the purposes aforesaid, I, Henry Clay, President of the American Colonization Society, in virtue of the resolutions aforesaid, have hereunto affixed my name, and caused the seal of the said society to be attached, at Washington, this 20th day of June, 1840.

H. CLAY."

I was informed by the chairman of the Board and other members, that four months had been mentioned, during their deliberations, as a period which might probably prove sufficient for effecting the objects of the mission, but as this could be known only after my arrival in England, the time was left indeterminate until I might be able to communicate something of my observations and prospects to the society.

Some weeks had elapsed between the time when the New York society had assumed the responsibility of defraying the expenses of this mission, and the passage of resolutions by the Directors of the Parent Board, giving to it their authority. It was, in consequence, (and especially as I was requested to visit Boston after my appointment, and before my embarkation,) impossible to arrive in London before the adjournment of the great anti-slavery convention.

It will be observed that this agency or commission was to be held under instructions from the Executive Committee, and on leaving Washington to proceed, as directed, "with all convenient despatch" to the performance of its duties, I was assured that such instructions would be duly transmitted to me at New York.

On the morning of my embarkation, I received the following resolution from the Executive Committee:

"At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, held at the office, June 29th, 1840,

"*Resolved*, That the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, on arriving in England, be requested to communicate with such individuals or associations as may be able to give official information of the intentions of the British Government in carrying

out the recently disclosed plans, relative to Western Africa—of making treaties for acquiring jurisdiction of the coast or country—urging them to abstain from all that part of the coast lying between Gallinas or Cape Mount, on the north, and the river Assinee on the east—representing to them the present prosperous condition of our colony, and the importance of a large section of country to which the colored population of the United States may emigrate, and by their example and industry improve the surrounding natives:—

"To assure the persons with whom he may communicate, of the disposition of the American Colonization Society, and the ability of the Colonial Government, to suppress the slave trade within their jurisdiction: to explain the elevating influence of colonization on the colored people of this country; and the general principles on which this society is founded.

"To ascertain the disposition and purpose of individuals connected with the Association for civilizing Africa, towards the American Colonization Society, and to receive donations in aid, and on behalf, of said society."

The following note, from the Chairman, accompanied the preceding resolution, and bore the same date:

"The Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society would advise that, in visiting England as agent of said society, and in your communications and correspondence with the projectors of the African Civilization Society, their officers, or persons representing them, or any other society or association—you confine yourself to presenting the principles and objects of the American Colonization Society, and the ascertainment of the objects of their association, so far as relates to any interference with the jurisdiction of the country from

Cape Mount to the river *Assinee;* and expressing the wishes of this society that no settlements or purchases of territory may be made, or any other kind of interference with the natives within the limits above named.

"As to further details, my former letters to you will give my views of such matters as may be important in relation to trade.*

"Please inform me where to address you in England."

It may be imagined that I felt some regret at the very limited views of the Committee, exhibited in these instructions, transmitted at the very moment of my departure; but I was disposed to think considerations of prudence might have induced them to wait for ampler information of the state of public opinion in England, and particularly of the sentiments and purposes of the African Civilization Society, before proposing any specific measures which might tend to unite by friendly ties, and in offices of reciprocal advantage, the friends of Africa in that country and the United States. I had no opportunity, at that late hour, to communicate with the gentlemen of the Committee, and the commission held from the President of the society authorized me to conciliate, as far as practicable, by expositions and explanations of the views of the Colonization Society, the regards of the English friends of Africa, as well as to seek, by conference with the African Civilization Society, and other kindred associations, an exact knowledge of their principles, and the methods and means by which they would accomplish their objects.

* These letters were unofficial, and containing some suggestions of value in regard to acquiring information on the subject of the African trade, but conferring no authority to enter into negotiations on any one subject.

Having sailed from New York on the 1st of July, I arrived in London near the close of the same month. I sought, without delay, an interview with Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, a gentleman well known to me and all intelligent friends of the Colonization Society, not only for his general philanthropy, but for the unremitting energy and ability with which he has publicly, and for many years, defended the character of the society and Liberia against a host of fierce opponents, and received from him the kindest welcome, and cordial assurances of all such co-operation and aid as it might be possible for him to afford.

The following is my first letter to the Committee of the American Colonization Society. I omit a single paragraph originating in a false report of the murder of Governor Buchanan.

"LONDON, July 31, 1840.

"*To the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society:*

"GENTLEMEN: A kind Providence has brought me in health and safety to this great metropolis of the world. The voyage was completed in about twenty-six days, and I arrived here from Portsmouth on the 28th, having in company of the Rev. Mr. Sparks, passed a day at Winchester, and another at Salisbury, on our way.

"I have received the most kind and gratifying attentions from Mr. Ralston and Mr. Vaughan, both formerly citizens of the United States, and deeply interested in the cause of African colonization.

"Mr. Buxton is absent, for two or three days, from the city, but from interviews with Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, (one of our earliest and best friends in this country,) and Mr. McQueen, (whose name appears in Mr. Buxton's

work,) both of them members of the African Civilization Committee, I indulge the hope that my visit at this time will be productive of benefit to the cause.

"Dr. Hodgkin thinks the time propitious, and suggests that Mr. Buxton and the Anti-slavery Society are not altogether harmonious.

"The Anti-slavery Convention, I am informed, was large, and the American delegates took occasion, not only to cast reproach upon their own country, but also to attack with vehemence the American Colonization Society. Dr. Hodgkin stood forth, on that occasion, as the warm and decided advocate of the Colonization Society. There can be little doubt that Messrs. Birney and Stanton are doing much to strengthen the already strong prejudice existing in the English mind against the United States.

"By the next conveyance I hope to be able to report intelligence which will be of interest to the committee, and also to transmit some documents in relation to the late anti-slavery movements in this country. What I can do, to correct error and misrepresentation, shall be done. I have strong hope that the mighty energies of England, as well as of America, will be mainly directed to the elevation of the colored race, by the civilization of Africa.

"Gentlemen,

"With the greatest respect and regard,

"Your friend and obedient servant,

(Signed,) "R. R. GURLEY."

The following letter to the Executive Committee, was written immediately after my introduction to Lord Bexley, and my earliest interview with Sir T. F. Buxton, chairman of the Committee of the African Civilization Society:

"LONDON, August 17, 1840.

" *To the Executive Committee of the*
American Colonization Society:

"GENTLEMEN: In my first brief communication after my arrival in this city, I mentioned, if I mistake not, that I had enjoyed several interviews with that excellent and long tried friend of the Colonization Society, Dr. Hodgkin, by whom I had been introduced to Lord Bexley.* Dr. Hodgkin is a very intelligent member of the Society of Friends—has published several able pamphlets in defence of the Colonization Society and of Liberia—is deeply interested in the objects of my mission, and disposed to aid, by every possible means, in their accomplishment. He came before the Anti-slavery Convention to sustain the cause of African colonization against attacks made there upon it, and has prepared for publication a letter to the American delegates to that convention, expressive of the reasons for his attachment to the Colonization Society, and comprising very valuable testimony in regard to the condition, influence, and prospects of the colony of Liberia.

"My interview with Lord Bexley was at the moment he was about to embark for the continent; he received me, however, with great kindness, said that the objects of the Colonization and Civilization Societies were very similar, and informed me by a note, after I left him, that he should hope for a further conference after his return to England.

"An interview with Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, owing to his absence from London, could not be obtained until within the last four days. On Friday, I was invited

* This is an error. The introduction was from Mr. Vaughan.

to dine with him, in company with Dr. Hodgkin, Capt. Trotter, (who is to command the expedition to the Niger,) and several other gentlemen, at Upton, the seat of Samuel Gurney, a wealthy banker, and distinguished member of the Society of Friends. Mr. Buxton read my letter from Mr. Clay, apparently with deep interest; but at the outset, frankly said, that he thought he should not agree with me on the subject of slavery—that he had read the life of Ashmun with great pleasure—that he was a friend to Liberia, and believed the influence of the society, as far as he was informed, beneficent in Africa, but that he was an Abolitionist, and had regarded the society as operating injuriously in the United States. His views of the influence of the society in America had obviously been derived from the statements of its enemies, and his knowledge of Liberia was very limited in consequence, as he stated, of his inability to obtain access to the publications of the society.

"In the course of the evening I replied to numerous inquiries concerning Liberia, but much of the time was occupied in conversation relating to the purposes and plans of the African Civilization Society.

"On the next day I was favored with an interview of several hours with Mr. Buxton, when the conversation related in part to the principles and policy of the Colonization Society; his opinions being, as before expressed, favorable to the proceedings of the institution in Africa, but otherwise, in regard to its influence in America, deeming it an obstruction to the cause of emancipation in the south. Of course, I sought very earnestly to correct his errors, and remove his prejudices.

"On this occasion, I took the liberty of making sundry inquiries in regard to the scheme which the friends

of African civilization in England propose to accomplish, and also to state explicitly the objects of my mission.

"To my first inquiry, "how the African Civilization Society was connected with the English Government," his reply was, that he had submitted his work, proposing a remedy for the African slave trade, to her Majesty's Government before its publication, and that the plan of operations therein suggested, had been adopted by the ministry, and that the outfit of the expedition to explore the Niger, was the first measure of the Government towards the execution of the scheme, and that the African Civilization Society had been instituted to co-operate in various ways, and under the protection of the Government with the ministry, for the deliverance, instruction, and elevation of the African race.

"To my inquiry as to who would hold the lands which might be ceded by the native African princes, and exercise the sovereignty over the territory thus obtained, he expressed the desire and expectation that the sovereignty would be vested in the English Crown, but that the territory would be paid for by the contemplated agricultural company, which, however, is not yet completely organized. He expressed strongly the idea that the shield of the Government should guard the benevolent industry and enterprise of such associations as might apply their exertions to the suppression of the slave trade, but left me to infer that all the details of the plan were not yet matured.

"To the question whether the British Government would expend funds and make efforts in aid of the cause of education and Christianity in Africa, he expressed a belief that the public opinion of this country would demand such an expenditure and such efforts.

"To inquiries concerning the specific objects of the African agricultural company, I learned that it is contemplated to secure territory and open a model cotton plantation on the banks of the Niger, to obtain colored men from the West Indies, Demerara, the United States, or Liberia, acquainted with the culture of cotton, to commence the plantation, and also to a great extent to employ native labor; and that, ultimately, it is designed to introduce and foster the cultivation of coffee, the sugar cane, and other great staple tropical productions. A planter who has resided many years in Demerara, has been consulted, with a view to his embarking in the scheme, and in a conversation between this gentleman and Mr. Buxton, I learned that about £50,000 is deemed requisite to make a fair and full experiment, say on fifteen hundred acres, including, of course, the erection of a cotton gin and press, the employment and transportation of agriculturalists from other countries, and the payment of the necessary laborers; for, although the expenditure of this whole amount might not be required the first year, it is deemed prudent to provide for difficulties and exigencies which in such an experiment may arise.

"To Mr. Buxton I stated very distinctly, that the friends of African colonization in the United States regarded the main features of his plan, as exhibited in his work, as identical with the scheme and uniform policy which, at all times, had been pursued, and with such remarkable, if not unexampled success by the American Colonization Society; that this society anticipated the extension of their African territory, and that Liberia would become a powerful, as it was already a free, prosperous, Christian commonwealth; that the prejudices against the Colonization Society in England,

arising, I could not doubt, from misinformation or misconception, were known in the United States; that the Directors of the Colonization Society deemed it important that in Africa, at least, there should be harmony and non-interference between those in England and America, who were or might be engaged in introducing among the barbarous tribes of that distracted country, the knowledge of liberty, civilization, and Christianity; that a much more extended line of coast would be necessary to the colony of Liberia, and that I was authorized to express the wish and expectation of the society I had the honor to represent, that it should be agreed and understood, that the American Colonization Society should enjoy an exclusive pre-emptive right to the country as far south as the river Assinee, if not to Axim.

"To this Mr. Buxton assented as reasonable; said there was abundant territory for all, and that he should rejoice were other settlements, like Liberia, multiplied along the African coast; but that he could give no pledges for the Civilization Society, or the English Government, but would be happy, on the return of Dr. Lushington, Sir Robert Inglis and other gentlemen of the committee to London, to afford me the opportunity of presenting the subject to their consideration.

"During this conversation, I also alluded briefly to some modes by which the societies, in America and England, might operate with mutual advantage to each other—in the exchange, for instance, of American tobacco at Liberia for acticles of manufacture from England, and that emigrants suited to aid the enterprises of the English society, might be supplied, perhaps, by the American society, in return for funds to promote the cause of internal improvement in Liberia, from the

philanthropists of England. I urged, that nowhere, on the African coast, in my judgment, could expenditures be made, with such advantage, as within the limits, and in the vicinity of Liberia.

"On no one point has a deeper interest been manifested, than in regard to the prospect of inducing persons of color, acquainted with agriculture, in the United States, to emigrate to the proposed English settlements; and my opinion is, that a distinct proposition to furnish such emigrants would be met with liberality.

"I am greatly surprised at the ignorance of very distinguished and benevolent men here, in regard to Liberia. Such persons have been astonished to learn that this colony was not sustained and controlled by the United States Government—that the slave trade had been checked by its influence, and that slavery did not exist within its limits.

"I am invited to confer with a sub-committee of the Civilization Society to-morrow.

"As yet, I have received no communications from the committee, at Washington, since I left the United States.

"With the exception of instructions to stipulate for all that line of the African coast lying north and west of Assinee, I am without definite authority in relation to several specific objects, which, by negotiation, might probably be advantageously secured.

"I am of opinion, that, to enlighten the public mind, and conciliate the public favor extensively in this kingdom towards the Colonization Society, will require prudence, vigorous efforts, and time; and that, if any great results in these respects are anticipated, the stay of an agent must be prolonged for several months, if not for a year. From judicious and energetic exertions

during such a period, I should hope benefits of great value might be secured to the society.

"I have great pleasure in transmitting herewith copies of letters addressed to Dr. Hodgkin on the subject of Liberia, the first from Governor Buchanan, and the second from Capt. Stoll of the Royal Navy, both exceedingly interesting, and worthy of publication. Nothing has ever appeared from Liberia more encouraging than this testimony of Capt. Stoll, and when the source from which it emanates is considered, it will receive full credit.

"I am happy to forward herewith several documents of the African Civilization Society, and will seek, by another opportunity, to transmit a new work, just published by Mr. McQueen, containing a letter to Lord John Russell, much geographical information, and an improved map of Africa.

"Gentlemen,

"I have the honor to be, with great respect,

"Your friend and servant,

"R. R. GURLEY."

I now submit my next letter to the committee.

"LONDON, August 26, 1840.

"*To the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society:*

"GENTLEMEN: Since the date of my last letter, nothing of very special importance has occurred. Mr. Buxton has retired for a short time to the country, for the benefit of his health, and as he expressed a desire to become well acquainted with the views and history of the Colonization Society, I have placed in his hands

nearly all our reports, and an entire set of the African Repository up to the commencement of the present year, directing his attention to such articles as are most worthy of his perusal.

"During the last week, I passed an hour, at their request, with a sub-committee of the Civilization Society, appointed to collect information, and having stated to them numerous facts in relation to Liberia, their Chairman was authorized to seek an early opportunity for further conference, and especially to impart whatever knowledge he might possess of the views and policy of the English Civilization Society. With this gentleman I have not conferred further on the subject, and believe he is for a few days absent from the city. I hope soon to see him.

"Yesterday I breakfasted with Capt. Trotter, (who is to command the expedition to the Niger,) in company with Capt. Allen, (who visited that river in Laird's expedition, in 1832,) the Rev. Mr. Muller, who is chaplain, and several other officers and scientific persons, who are to adventure on this philanthropic but perilous voyage of discovery. I have formed a high opinion of Capt. Trotter, as a candid, very intelligent, and noble minded man. The first steamboat for the expedition is to be launched this week at Liverpool, but the departure will not take place before November. It is intended to employ the Kroo people as laborers, and to take one hundred and fifty of them from Sierra Leone. Capt. Trotter will touch at Liberia, and I have promised him letters to Governor Buchanan.

"In my conversations with Mr. Buxton, I have expressed the opinion, that much of the success of Liberia, and the remarkable spirit and prosperity of its citizens,

are to be ascribed to the share they possess in government, and the moral certainty, to their minds, that to their posterity, if not to them, will belong the privileges and honors of a free and independent national character.

"I ventured to suggest that this policy, which had been proved so effectual for good in the experience of the American Colonization Society, might merit the profound consideration of all philanthropists who sought to reform and civilize the people of Africa.

"While assenting to the justice of the remark, Mr. Buxton expressed the opinion, that it was at this moment impossible for the Civilization Society to decide, absolutely, what policy should be ultimately adopted in the African settlements.

"Although it is impossible to predict, with confidence, what will be the result of my mission, I have not felt myself at liberty to return without seeking an interview with the general Committee of the Civilization Society, which must detain me here several weeks, by the close of which time I hope to be favored with replies to my several communications to the Board at Washington. Thus far, my exertions have been directed to the minds of individuals, as it is thought, by judicious friends, of vital importance so to influence the opinion of the Civilization Society, that, in appearing before the public, even if denied its support, I may not encounter its hostility. It is a matter of very deep regret to me, that I am without any definite and full instructions from the Committee on several points which are of great interest to the cause. Letters in regard to some commercial arrangements, which I was informed were forwarded to New York by the Chairman, have never been received.

"Will the Committee be good enough to consider whether any, and if so, what proposition or propositions shall be made to the Civilization Society, in regard to any exchange, on the coast of Africa, of American products for British manufactures?

"Whether any stipulations shall be suggested to secure the neutrality of the Liberia settlements in case of war?

"Whether any propositions shall be made to secure free trade between Liberia and all British colonies on the African coast?

"Whether any, and what arrangements can be adopted mutually between the Colonization and Civilization Societies for the suppression of the slave trade?

"Whether the Colonization Society will encourage any free persons of color, or liberated slaves, acquainted with the culture of sugar, rice, or cotton, to emigrate to British settlements, and on what condition?

"Whether, in case funds were here contributed to found and sustain a high school or college in Liberia, it should be open to educate youths from British settlements?

"Whether funds may be expended for the education of native Africans, within the limits of Liberia, by the English Civilization Society, and under what regulations and conditions?

"I am very happy to learn, by a note from Mr. Knight, as well as from the African Repository, received by Dr. Hodgkin, that animating intelligence has been received from Liberia, and that liberal contributions have been made recently to the treasury of the society. I am gratified to notice Mr. Cresson's project, already well sustained, and which, I trust, will soon, by his zeal and perseverance, be fully accomplished.

"For a short time I propose to devote myself to interviews and correspondence with clergymen, and others, and to the preparation of a few articles for the press. Dr. Hodgkin is anxious that I should visit Clarkson, as well as several eminent philanthropists of the Society of Friends.

"The American delegates to the recent Anti-slavery Convention, have done what they could to strengthen prejudice against our society in the public mind here, as well as to darken and degrade the character of the great body of their countrymen in the eyes of the people of England. But such testimony as that of Capt. Stoll is conclusive evidence of the beneficence of the Colonization Society, and of the prosperity of Liberia, and must powerfully affect candid and reflecting minds. Nor does it admit of doubt, that the Civilization Society is about to turn the tide of thought and sympathy to Africa, as the great theatre for the deliverance and elevation of the African race.

"Mr. Cresson informs Dr. Hodgkin that numerous slaves are in preparation, for freedom in Liberia, and that, for every £12 raised in England towards the object, he will pledge himself to plant an emancipated slave in Africa, as a colonist, and will guarantee to extend this operation to 10,000, who are now slaves. I am not hopeless, if time is allowed me, of doing something effectual for the funds of the society.

"I have to acknowledge very special obligations to Dr. Hodgkin; and also that Petty Vaughan, esquire, and his venerable uncle, William Vaughan, esquire, as well as the Messrs. Ralstons and Junius Smith, L. L. D., are disposed to render me every aid in their power.

"I remain, gentlemen, &c.,

R. R. GURLEY."

The first communication received by me, in England, from the society, was the following, extracted from the minutes of the Executive Committee, and enclosed in a note from a gentleman in their office, Mr. Knight:

"At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, held at their office in Washington, July 27, 1840, the following preamble and resolutions were passed:

"*Whereas*, The sentiments expressed and resolutions passed at the various meetings recently held in London by several societies, and especially the one called the 'World's Convention,' are hostile to the interests and institutions of this country, and calculated to embitter the feelings of our citizens, to strengthen and perpetuate hostility to the cause of colonization, and are now producing great excitement: therefore,

"1st. *Resolved*, That the Rev. R. R. Gurley be, and is hereby, particularly requested not to compromit the known and avowed objects and intentions of this society, and that, in making any communications intended for publication in this country, relating to the views and objects of the several societies in England, they be exclusively directed to the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society.

"2d. *Resolved*, That on the completion of his mission to England, Mr. Gurley be, and is hereby, requested to return to Boston and prosecute the interests and objects of the American Colonization Society, by collecting funds in that city and adjacent places, in accordance with these, and other suggestions and instructions which may hereafter be given him.

"3d. *Resolved*, That Mr. Knight be, and he is hereby,

requested to forward a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions to the Rev. R. R. Gurley, now in England, by the steam packet to sail first of August.

"A true copy from the minutes.

"F. KNIGHT,

"Assistant Secretary,

"American Colonization Society.

"COLONIZATION ROOMS,

"*Washington, July* 28, 1840."

These resolutions, it will be seen, were adopted just about the time of my arrival in London. It was stated in the accompanying note, that they were passed under an anxiety of the Committee, produced by the proceedings of the World's Convention, in order that nothing might be done to involve the American Colonization Society in any measures of any English societies; that the Committee "felt great confidence in my good judgment, and trusted that good would result from private conferences with wise and judicious men in England." Allusion was also made to the independent stand taken by the Louisiana Society, and to apprehensions that Mississippi would adopt the same policy; and it was suggested that, by accepting for a time an agency in those States, I might contribute to restore united and harmonious action. That I was surprised at these resolutions, will not seem incredible, when it is considered that they came from a committee of my professed friends, to whom I looked for definite instructions and firm support; that they spoke of a completion of my mission and my return before I had even commenced my work, or had time to announce my arrival in England—that they seemed to imply the existence of a time fixed or

limited, for this mission, which had been left indeterminate—and, above all, that they directed my engaging in the duties of an agency in Boston when it was known to their authors that the attempt, (but too successful,) in my absence, to exclude me, by amending the constitution of the Society,* from a seat in the Committee, which, in virtue of my office, I had for many years held, and thus not only to diminish my influence, but deprive the station I had occupied of its chief attractions to an honorable mind, had compelled me to send in my resignation, which had been withdrawn only at their unanimous request, with the understanding that it would be renewed, unless at the next annual meeting of the Directors the causes which produced it should be removed.

I here submit my reply to this communication.

"LONDON, *August* 27, 1840.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your two favors of the 28th of July, and refer you to my letters to the Executive Committee for information of my proceedings, and of the present state of sentiment towards the colonization cause in this country. I find the opinions of the English very much in unison with my expectations, and while I find little to animate, I see nothing to discourage me.

"Mr. Buxton and his Civilization Society will, I think, take no ground in opposition to the Colonization Society; in Africa we may look to them for amity and co-operation, yet how far they will deny or grant to us, in our American operations, either purity of motive or beneficence of conduct, is yet to be decided.

"I greatly regret that the Louisiana Society should

* See Appendix A.

have deemed it necessary to assume an independent position, but am gratified to learn that the general cause is gaining strength, and that generous contributions are flowing into the treasury. I anticipated increased donations from the earnest efforts and appeals made to the Christians of our country just before the fourth of July.

"We have peculiar reason for gratitude to the Almighty for his protecting care of the colony, and that recent arrivals bring intelligence of its increasing prosperity. Mr. Buchanan (whose name, it gives me pleasure to think, I first proposed to the Board for the office of governor,) has administered the colonial affairs with great good sense, energy and courage, and won for himself a very honorable and lasting fame.

"I must be permitted to suggest to the Committee, through you, the propriety of transmitting as ample instructions as possible on all subjects related to the objects of my mission. I will thank you to forward, through Henry Smith, esquire, of New York, the African Repository, and such other papers as may inform me of the condition and prospects of the Colonization Society.

"Much time and judicious and energetic exertions are required to produce a very extensive and salutary change in favor of our society in this kingdom. I am inclined to think such a change can be effected, and that it will richly compensate for any expense of effort or money necessary to accomplish it. But my means of forming a judgment are at present limited. I hope to express myself with greater confidence by the next opportunity.

"The united and generous endeavors of the New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey Societies in the cause, are very encouraging omens, and let us cherish

the hope, that one sentiment of charity will animate the societies (however they may differ in their modes of operation, or be separated in their proceedings for the same end,) formed to plant civilization and Christianity in Africa.

"While I am deeply sensible how much the interests of the society demand my early return to the regular and constant discharge of my duties, as Secretary, at Washington, where I should find much pleasure in contributing my humble aid to the deliberations and proceedings of the Committee, yet I do not feel at liberty to abandon my duties here until I shall have conferred more fully with the Directors of the African Civilization Society, or am more thoroughly apprised of the judgment adopted in view of the facts of the case, by those I have the honor to represent.

"Very truly and faithfully,

"My dear sir,

"Your friend and servant,

"R. R. GURLEY.

"FRANKLIN KNIGHT, Esq."

The next token of confidence and encouragement, bearing something of an official character, was the following, signed by three distinguished members, my personal friends, of the New York Colonization Society. I omit names.*

* It is proper for me to state, that the name of one of these gentlemen was affixed to this letter by his consent, but without his knowledge of its precise contents, and that he subsequently deemed the letter uncalled for, and unworthy of its authors. Nor do I doubt that pure motives gave origin to the communication —yet it strikingly exhibits the strange illusions thrown, at this period, over the minds of my friends.

"COLONIZATION ROOMS, NEW YORK,
"*August* 7, 1840.

"SIR: Information has reached us, and from sources entitled to credit, by which we are equally astonished and alarmed, that you have conveyed * * a proposition to sell to Mr. Buxton, and his associates, the settlement at Cape Palmas, and transfer to them the emigrants who have been conveyed to that colony. Such a proposition, if consummated, would, in our opinion, be not only fatal to the cause of colonization, but rivet the chains of the ill-fated negro for generations to come, and bring a stain upon the American character, which all future time would not wash away. The very idea of persuading the poor colored man to leave his native shores, with promises that our fostering care should be extended to him on a foreign land, and then transfer him to other and unknown hands, would expose us who are agents in the enterprise, to the contempt of our patrons whose money we have solicited, and would in our opinion expose our common country to the scorn of the civilized world.

"We would most fondly cherish the hope that our intelligence is unfounded; but if there is even the shadow of truth in this rumor, that you have borne to Mr. Buxton a communication of this nature, we protest against it in the name of our Master, and of our country, and of the colored man to whom we have made professions of disinterested benevolence. You know that it was with great difficulty we could spare the means of sending you to England, and it was explicitly understood and expressed, that your exclusive object was to promote the cause of colonization, which we have uniformly regarded as the cause of humanity and religion; but a proposition of the nature to which we have referred, must inevitably blast our hopes of the noblest scheme which ever originated

in the bosom of philanthropy. Such would be the alarm excited by a knowledge of this report, that we dare not disclose it even to our associates in the Board, and the fact is known only to us whose names are undersigned. The fact, if disclosed, would defeat all application to the friends of Africa for discharging those heavy responsibilities which we have recently incurred by the outfit of the Saluda. If Cape Palmas is offered for sale, we will rather make an effort to purchase than be accessory to the perpetration of a deed by which we must appear traitors to the colored race. Fail not to inform us by the first opportunity relative to this fact, and lest one letter should miscarry, let duplicates be forwarded that our anxieties may be removed.

"Rev. R. R. Gurley."

To this letter (bearing date it will be observed about ten days after my arrival in England) I hastened to reply in the following terms:

"London, *September* 1, 1840.

"Gentlemen: In reply to your letter of the 7th of August, it gives me pleasure to say, that I have made no proposition for the sale of Cape Palmas, to Mr. Buxton, or to his associates. The rumor referred to by you may have originated from a conversation between Mr. ——— and myself, just before I left the United States, but I am not aware, that I have ever alluded to that conversation in the presence of any English gentleman, since I have been upon this shore. I send, as you request, duplicates of this note, and have the honor to be,

"Gentlemen, with great respect, &c.,

"Messrs. "R. R. GURLEY."

On the next day, I addressed to these gentlemen the following more explicit note:

"LONDON, *Sept.* 2, 1840.

"GENTLEMEN: — On the receipt of your letter of the 7th of August, yesterday, I wrote you briefly and with that surprise which a communication of that character and so unexpected, would naturally excite. I had already been astonished by a letter from another quarter in America, and it seemed as though some disastrous twilight must have fallen on the Society, in which suspicions were thickly flying abroad. I have thought it might be more satisfactory to you, to add a few words in explanation. I know nothing of the sources of the rumor to which you refer, but presume it must have arisen from some misapprehension in the United States, of a conversation between Mr. ——— and myself.

"I may have alluded to this conversation before I left the country, and some one have thought proper so to speak of it as to occasion your astonishment and alarm.

"But the conversation was a mere casual and unofficial matter, never intended, I presume, to be viewed as expressing the opinions of his Society; never deemed by me as *giving me any authority*, and I have already stated, not such as to dispose me to mention the subject to any English gentleman since my arrival in London. And it is due to Mr. ——— to say, that in his speculations, (for such I think his remarks should be viewed,) I do not believe he had a thought of acting without the consent or against the welfare of Cape Palmas. I trust, therefore, the subject will not be mentioned to his injury.* I shall hope to be able, in various ways to promote the cause of our Society in this kingdom.

"With great respect, gentlemen, &c.,

"MESSRS. "R. R. GURLEY."

* If fairly reported, it could do that gentleman no injury with honorable men.

The instructions in my commission were general. The views communicated by the committee on the subject alone of extending the Liberian territory, were definite. The prorogation of Parliament almost immediately on my arrival in London, was a signal for the dispersion of the nobility, and more distinguished citizens, and the absence of many members of the general committee of the African Civilization Society, rendered it impossible for some weeks to present any subject to their consideration. Nor was it in my power to fulfil the object of my visit, or ascertain their views in reference to an extension of the Liberian territory, without a conference with this committee. The Civilization Society was about to hold public meetings in various parts of England, and the hope was cherished by some of its ablest friends, who were friends also of the Colonization Society, that opportunity would be granted to me at these meetings of enforcing the claims of that association in connection with such explanations of the views of our countrymen who were successfully engaged in planting the seeds of knowledge, liberty, and a pure faith in Liberia, and thus of removing from the minds of the English, their unfortunate and unjust prejudices against the American Colonization Society.

It is, I must presume, generally known, that through the earnest efforts of Mr. Cresson and Dr. Hodgkin, a Society was organized in London, some eight years ago, denominated the British African Colonization Society; that his Royal Highness, the Duke of Sussex, presided at its formation; that Lord Bexley and many other eminent men gave to it their countenance; that its declared object was "to promote the establishment of christianity and civilization among the natives of Africa, chiefly by the employment of persons of African birth or descent;

and to the entire abolition of the slave trade;" and that for these ends it was determined "to enter into correspondence and co-operation with the American Colonization Society, and with the several missionary and other religious and charitable societies in Great Britain, the United States, and elsewhere, in their endeavors to raise the civil, moral, and religious condition of the Africans."

Between this society and the American Colonization Society, there existed mutual confidence; funds to some extent were contributed in England; and the village of Bexley, on the banks of the St. John's river, in Liberia, sprung into existence under the fostering care of this association. Distrust, however, of the benevolence of the Colonization Society, was extensively produced in England by the zeal and misrepresentations of American Abolitionists, and the operations of this British society were entirely arrested. Indeed, upon my arrival in London, it had but a nominal existence. The British African Civilization Society had risen, as it were, to occupy its place; was established for nearly the same objects; and, but for its want of sympathy with the friends of Africa in the United States, might have been regarded as embodying all its vital principles and advantages. It was, then, a question with the English friends of the American Colonization Society, whether an attempt should be made to revive the British African Colonization Society. The chief, if not only reason for such an attempt, arose from the apparent indisposition (beginning to be manifest,) of the Civilization Society to reciprocate the confidence and regard of the Colonization Society. The hope was still entertained that this indisposition might, by correct statements, be overcome; but if not, it was clearly important that the Colonization Society should,

through some other means, make known its doctrines and success to the people of England. Several gentlemen, interested in the object of my mission, were invited by Dr. Hodgkin to meet at his house, and consider the best means of effecting it, but previously to their deliberations, I addressed the following letter to the Committee at Washington:

"LONDON, *September* 11, 1840.

"*To the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society:*

"GENTLEMEN: Since I last wrote, nothing of great importance has occurred here in relation to the interests of the American Colonization Society.

"Soon after my interviews with Mr. Buxton, he retired into the country, supplied with nearly all the publications of our society, which I trust he will peruse with attention and candor. I have addressed to him a letter, on the subject of the importance of a union, in sympathy at least, between the friends of African civilization in England and the United States, but as yet have not been favored with a reply. My impressions are, that every thing is working slowly but favorably for us here, and that a large portion of public sentiment in England and America may be brought to coalesce and co-operate for the civilization of Africa, and the good of the colored race.

"Some days ago, I was invited to meet several gentlemen of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, in a conference relating to African colonization, and the objects of my visit to this country. I was accompanied by our good friend, Dr. Hodgkin, and among others present were Messrs. Birney and

Stanton, delegates from the United States to the recent Anti-slavery Convention in this city. Dr. Hodgkin and myself communicated, to those present, many interesting facts concerning the Colonization Society and its African settlements; heard, and, as we were able, answered sundry objections; defended the colony from reproaches cast upon it as participating in the slave trade; and, finally, produced the triumphant vindication of Capt. Stoll and Governor Buchanan, in regard to the character of Liberia.

"A meeting of a few friends to the Colonization Society and African civilization, is to take place at the residence of Dr. Hodgkin, to-morrow evening. I hope the first steps may be taken for measures of extensive usefulness to the African cause. If the British African Colonization Society can be revived as a branch of the Civilization Society, it may conduce powerfully to unite the sentiments of England and America for the civilization of Africa, and I should hope, aid in an essential manner, the funds and operations of the American Society.

"It is of great importance that a kind spirit towards our noble minded friends in Great Britain, should be shown in all our publications, and that our aim should be not to recriminate but to conciliate.

"I hope to receive very full communications and instructions by the return of the Queen.

"In the mean time, I shall be exerting my best abilities to advance the great cause of African colonization, and secure that union so greatly to be desired between the philanthropy of Great Britain and America, for the redemption and elevation of the colored race.

"I have the honor to be, gentlemen, yours, &c.,

"R. R. GURLEY."

At the meeting on the evening of the 12th of September, at the house of Dr. Hodgkin, several able and judicious friends of African colonization were present, and after much conversation, adopted, with unanimity, the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That it is expedient to revive the British African Colonization Society in union with the African Civilization Society, and that its title be 'The British African Colonization Society for the civilization of Africa.'

"The objects of this association shall be not only to aid the general purposes of the African Civilization Society, but also to establish upon the African coast, colonies of free persons of color from the West Indies, the United States or elsewhere, who may desire to emigrate to that continent; to strengthen such colonies as are already founded, by assisting emigrants to resort to them; to establish schools and institutions for moral, religious, intellectual, agricultural and commercial improvement; to guard the rights, civilize the manners, and instruct the children of the native population within the limits or under the influence of these colonies; in fine, to adopt the best means of rendering these colonies models of good government and christian society."

I have alluded to a conference, at their request, with a committee of the Anti-Slavery Society. Two of the American delegates to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, Messrs. Birney and Stanton, were present at this meeting. Dr. Hodgkin and myself replied to the various inquiries proposed by the committee in relation to the Colonization Society, and the condition and prospects of Liberia, and endeavored to refute, by facts as well as argument, sundry objections urged by the committee and their associates against the Society and the colony. Re-

cent letters from the colony, and particularly the statement of Capt. Stoll, (an officer in the British navy, who had then but just returned from a visit to Liberia,) vindicating its character, and bearing testimony to its influence against the slave trade, were read by Dr. Hodgkin.

Seldom have I been more painfully impressed by unlooked for evidences of the imperfection of our nature, than when informed soon after this meeting, that statements had been made by some present, (Americans I believe,) to the venerable Thomas Clarkson, personally injurious to me, and equally if not more so to the colonization cause. It is melancholy to think that this great philanthropist, oppressed by age and infirmities, on the very verge of life, should have been so misled from the path of wisdom and charity, by those who can offer no sufficient apology for their misrepresentations, as publicly to have expressed himself in language neither sanctioned by reason nor justice, and unworthy of his character and fame. I allude particularly to certain papers bearing his honored name, widely circulated by the abolitionists in the United States. But the fault lies more with others than himself. It is impossible for him at present thoroughly to examine into the great questions between the anti-slavery committee and the friends of African colonization and civilization. In a note to a friend, he alluded to the statements of one or more gentlemen present at the conference with the anti-slavery committee.

The following is extracted from my letter to Mr. Clarkson, occasioned by this note:

"You are pleased also to refer to the reports of certain persons who have been with me in London, and who charge me with a want of '*straightforwardness*,' and

with prevarication during what they have thought proper to represent as my examination before the anti-slavery committee. Sir, I was invited in very friendly terms to meet and confer with that committee. I replied in the best manner I was able, to their numerous inquiries. I communicated all the information in my power in regard to the views of the Colonization Society, and the colony of Liberia. Dr. Hodgkin has already stated to you his views of my conduct on this occasion. What is my reward for meeting, at their own request, in conference, these individuals of the anti-slavery committee? To have my motives impeached and my reputation assailed in my absence, and in the presence of that great and good man, whom I have from my youth regarded with more than respect, with love and admiration. 'Faithful are the wounds of a friend, but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful.'

"It is right for me to state, that at this conference, the editor of the Anti-Slavery Journal was present, also the Rev. Mr. Scoble, and that our friend Dr. Hodgkin read in their hearing Capt. Stoll's letter* on the subject of Libe-

* "215 PICADILLY, *July* 17, 1840.

"MY DEAR SIR: — I had not returned from the country at the time your meeting was held, to which you were so kind as to invite me; this will account for my silence, and I am sorry that the press of affairs on me at this moment, should interfere with my contributing my mite for the African race. In case I should not meet you before leaving London, I shall commit the following facts to paper, all of which are from my own observation, relative to the American colony of Liberia, in which you are so much interested, and justly so. My opinion, though not of much value, is that it promises to be the only successful institution of the sort on the coast of Africa, keeping in mind its objects, namely, that of raising the African slave into a free man; preparing him for the exercise of civil liberty, in its various branches, from the governor

ria, also the letter of Governor Buchanan, both written this year, copies of which have, I believe, been furnished you, and both bearing decisive evidence that the slave trade was extensively suppressed through the laws and influence of that colony; yet within a few days after the meeting, an article is published in the Anti-Slavery Journal, to prove Liberia to be aiding and abetting the slave trade, *and not a word said of the recent unexceptionable, decided and conclusive testimony on the subject, submitted by Dr. Hodgkin.* Alas! the disposition to detect the mote in another's eye, while a beam is in our own, was not alone prevalent in the times of our Saviour.

"Much, however, and justly, as I value the favor and approbation of wise and good men, like yourself, my personal reputation is of little consequence, compared

to the laborer; the extinction of the slave trade, and last, though not least, the religious and moral improvement of Africa at large. 1st. From the carriage and conversation of the emancipated slave, you perceive at once that he feels himself a freeman; they one and all told me, they were men now, which they never were before, and had a prospect for their children, not in the least regretting their departure from America; on the contrary, desirous of getting their relations over to join them. 2d. The affairs of the colony are conducted, with the exception of the governor, entirely by colored men, chiefly liberated slaves; and Mr. Buchanan, a most able and zealous friend of the African, assured me, that their judicial administration would do credit to any State in America, and that they were most reasonable in all their propositions and debates in their House of Assembly. They are all quite aware, that nothing but industry can conduce to their wealth and comfort, and practise it; even the Africans captured and located by the American government, have followed the example set by the colonists for when I visited them, about 3 P. M., the hottest part of the day, I found them all at work on their farms. 3d. No one in the remotest degree connected with the slave trade, is allowed ever to communicate with Liberia, much less trade; and from a little affair with

with that of the institution I have the honor to represent, and my regret less that you should view me with distrust, than that you should doubt the enlarged humanity and benevolence of the American Colonization Society. With grief and pain I have perused your letter to Mr. Garrison. From that letter I infer that Mr. Cresson, in the enthusiasm of his feelings, may have erred in regard to the extent of the spirit of emancipation in the United States. But in regard to the Society as benevolent in all its tendencies towards the colored race, both in America and Africa, I conceive there was no error in his views, and I believe it can be shown in its policy and proceedings, to have the sanction of reason, justice and religion; and that the first impressions which you, venerable sir, and your former friends and associates, Lord

myself, and other ocular proofs, they are always ready to join in any expedition for the destruction of slave factories. 4th. They are preparing missionaries from amongst themselves, and have already attempted it on a small scale, but with what success, I am not ready to say, not having had an opportunity of personal inspection; but their schools do them credit, more especially when their small means are considered. The colonists, with few exceptions, are all members of churches, and I can most safely testify, that a more orderly, sober set of people I never met with. I did not hear an improper or profane expression during my visit. Spirits are excluded in most if not all the settlements. They have formed themselves into various societies, such as agricultural, botanical, mechanical, for promoting Christian knowledge; also, a ladies' society for clothing the poor, &c. The surrounding Africans are aware of the nature of the colony, taking refuge, when persecuted by the few neighboring slave traders. The remnants of a tribe have lately fled to, and settled in the colony, on land granted them. Between my two visits, a lapse of only a few days, four or five slaves sought refuge from their master, who was about to sell, or had sold them to the only factory on that part of the coast. The native chiefs in the neighborhood have that respect for the colo-

Gambier, Mr. Wilberforce, the Duke of Gloucester, Mrs. More, (now enjoying in a purer world the rewards of their philanthropy,) received of it, when Messrs. Mills and Burgess, in 1818, visited England, were entirely sound, and required no change. It is not at this moment my purpose to correct the errors and misrepresentations darkening the public mind of England on this subject, but to say, that I am prepared to do this, and to prove that whether we regard the good of the free colored population of the United States, the peaceful and voluntary manumission of slaves in that country, the suppression of the African slave trade, or the intellectual and moral renovation of Africa, the scheme which the American Colonization Society has proposed and thus far prosecuted with such remarkable success, merits the

nists, that they have made treaties for the abolition of the slave trade, as also constituted the governor judge in the dispute amongst themselves, and a remarkable instance had occurred only a few days previous to my visit; one chief submitted to the arbitration of Mr. Buchanan, though contrary to his own idea of right and justice, and paid the fine imposed upon him. I could say much more, but my time does not admit, and I must conclude this rambling and hurried account of my visit to Liberia, with this observation, that I went there unbiassed, and left it with a conviction that colonies on the principle of Liberia, ought to be established as soon as possible, if we wish to serve Africa, and the materials for such colonies, I think can only be procured from the slaves of the United States.

"I am not disposed, from what I have seen and known of our West India blacks, to select them for this great work, if for no other reason, the American black speaks pure English. Excuse this hasty production, with all its faults; but rather than break my word, I send you this; and with every wish for your success in your philanthropic exertions, I remain, my dear sir, yours, most truly, JOHN L. R. STOLL.

"To T. Hodgkin, M. D."

approbation and generous support of the whole Christian world. You approve of Mr. Buxton's plan. I fully concur in your opinion of that plan. If it be defective, it is only in that particular which the example of Liberia might supply. Good government and free institutions, are elements which above all things else Africa requires, and never will the colored race attain to the dignity and honor which every good man must desire may be theirs, until they share in their own government and rise to an independent national existence. Africa is their rightful inheritance and to reclaim her from superstition, slavery, and barbarism, and rebuild the ruins of her former civilization and grandeur, and bring her under the dominion of Christianity, is one of the greatest works to which a people were ever summoned by the Providence of the Almighty."

The British association for the promotion of science, comprising gentlemen eminent for knowledge from all parts of England and Ireland, and, generally, attended by distinguished persons from different countries on the continent was about to assemble in Glasgow, and the African Civilization Society, had resolved to seize that opportunity for making known through a public meeting their principles and schemes. My friends in London thought it important that I should visit Glasgow at this time, and it was hardly imagined, that as a friend of the Civilization Society, I should be be denied the privilege of expressing the cordial interest felt by many thousands of my countrymen in the plan and movements of that Society. But the sins of the good and the follies of the wise would make a huge volume in the history even of living men.

It is somewhat remarkable, that, in a city where typhus fever caused by extreme want is never absent; where sixteen thousand persons have individually in a single

year sought a night's lodging in the shelter for the houseless and been fed, (if supplied with food at all,) at an expense of three pence each, per day, a purse of some nine hundred pounds was respectfully presented to Mr. George Thompson on his return from his abolition mission in the United States, and Mr. Garrison and his associates had been welcomed with shouts of applause, but a few weeks before my visit, in the chapel of Dr. Wardlaw. Nowhere, perhaps, on the Island of Great Britain, burns the fever of abolition, more intensely, than in Glasgow. The high and generous blood of the Scotch is stirred for liberty, nor can they be severely censured, considering what appalling and horrid pictures of American oppression and cruelty have been held up by our countrymen before their eyes. Dr. Breckenridge, it is true, exerted himself with great ability, and some success, to correct the prevalent errors. But who can reason down the excited sympathies and passions of a Scotch audience influenced by the imagination of unparalleled wrongs against enslaved men in a remote and foreign land! Would that one-half of the sympathy and eloquence, now expended in Scotland in behalf of American slaves, were directed to her wretched and perishing poor! No American is more alive than the writer, to the admirable qualities of the Scotch character, and it was painful to observe the best natural feelings perverted, and justice forgotten, through erroneous impressions of American institutions and American slavery.

Although denied, through the illiberal policy of the gentlemen who controlled the proceedings of the African civilization meeting in Glasgow, the privilege of expressing in the name of millions of my countrymen, their heart-felt interest in its object, I subsequently invited some two hundred persons, (including all the clergy,) to

meet me, and to a small number of intelligent gentlemen, who complied with this invitation, explained the object of my visit to England, the views of the Colonization Society, the state of Liberia, and read to them the valuable testimonies of Capt. Stoll and Governor Buchanan. With evident gratification, they thanked me for the information, but saw little benefit to be expected from a more public meeting at that time. I sought by private interviews with many respected persons to dispel the prevailing errors in regard to the Colonization Society and Liberia. Both here and at Edinburgh, I experienced great kindness and hospitality; and, in the latter city, so eminently endowed with the treasures of intelligence, social virtue, and the gifts and graces of Christianity, I found individuals still adhering to their faith in a society, by contributions to which, in former years, they were permitted to found a settlement, bearing the honored name of Edina upon the soil of Liberia.

At a public meeting of the Abolitionists, during my stay in Edinburgh, Messrs. Birney and Stanton attended, and in connection with exaggerated statements of the cruelties of American slave-holders, Messrs. Scoble and Remond animadverted, emphatically, on the character of the Colonization Society.

I assured the public, in a note addressed forthwith to the Editor of the Scotsman, that I was fully prepared to show that this Society is benevolent in its tendencies to all classes of the colored race; that the free people of color in the United States, in opposing its influence, are opposing their own best interest and that of their whole race, both in America and Africa; that as this Society is bound by its constitution to colonize only with the consent of the free people of color, and has always adhered

to this obligation, the expression of opinion that it will be an advantage for this people to emigrate, no more infringes upon their liberty or rights than the expression of an opinion that they should remain in the United States; and I trusted, before leaving that kingdom, to prove to candid minds that Liberia was a well founded, well governed, and rapidly improving Christian community of colored emigrants, animated by lofty motives, informed by the spirit of liberty and piety, contributing to the suppression of the slave trade, and the civilization of the native Africans; and, finally, that the plan of the American Colonization Society agrees, in all its leading features, with that of Sir T. F. Buxton, and merited universal approbation and generous and constant support.

Before I left London, I had addressed a letter to Sir T. F. Buxton, yet, until some weeks after my return, late in September, received no reply.

I had for some time been looking anxiously for an answer to my several communications, from the Executive Committee or Board of Directors. I had promptly reported to them my proceedings, explained the state of the English mind in relation to my object, and sought on all important points particular and ample instructions. It will be recollected that the New York Colonization Society had assumed, very generously, the expenses of this mission. Before the close of October, I received, through the kindness of the venerable Secretary of that Society, (writing under date of the 1st of that month,) a copy of the following resolution, which had, the preceding evening, been unanimously adopted by its managers:

"*Resolved*, That as the appointment of Mr. Gurley was under a commission from the Parent Society, at

Washington, and the Executive Committee have written officially to him, in relation to his proposal for an extension of the time allowed for his remaining in England, this Board must decline acting in the case; nevertheless, provided Mr. Gurley could raise funds in England for his support during a longer stay, it would be gratifying to us that he should so remain."

Nearly at the same time came to hand the following preamble and resolution from the Executive Committee:

"The letters of Mr. Gurley having been read, asking specific instructions on certain propositions, and involving his protracted continuance in England, it was, on motion of Dr. Lindsley,

"*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee do not feel authorised, or deem it expedient, to enter into any of the arrangements with the British African Civilization Society, or other British authorities suggested by Mr. Gurley, or to enlarge or contract the simple object for which Mr. Gurley was commissioned by the Board of Directors to go to England: that they do not feel themselves authorised to extend the term of his absence furnished by the Board of Directors; and that, if Mr. Gurley shall feel so far impressed with the expediency of continuing in England, to effect more fully the object had in view by the Board in sending him to England, as to induce him to transcend the term to which he was limited, the Committee leave it to Mr. Gurley to act on this point on his own responsibility to the Board of Directors, both for approval and for compensation."

This resolution was enclosed in the letter herewith submitted from a respected personal friend in the Committee:

"*Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary, &c., &c.:*

"My dear friend: I have been requested by the Executive Committee to enclose to you a resolution, expressive of their views with regard to the suggestion, in one of your late letters, of an extension of your visit to London, and also on the several inquiries contained in your communications relative to the expediency of carrying out certain propositions set forth therein.

"Several of those propositions were deemed very inexpedient—our construction of our constitution inhibited any action on others, and, indeed, so far as regarded your mission to England, we view it as an act of the Directors which we have neither a right nor the power to interfere with.

"Advice often implies authority. Some of us, and I for one, were under the impression that, confining yourself strictly in setting forth the origin of our Society—in proclaiming its pure, peaceful, constitutional object—in giving a true history of our progress at home and in Liberia—in disabusing the minds of those who aim at the same object in regard to every thing connected with our Society, and thus commanding the sympathy, if not the co-operation, of our Anglo-Saxon brethren:—In so doing, we anticipated much good.

"We do not doubt that you have already done much to help us—nor do we doubt your prudence, if you were really informed as to how far your intercourse with these great and good men should carry you.

"You well know the varied material of which the Board of Directors is composed. You also know how much some of them were opposed to your mission; and desirous to act strictly, on this important question, within our powers, we felt constrained to adopt the enclosed as

the alternative of our former resolutions already sent you, leaving you to settle all matters with the Directors.

"You will remember that the Society meets on the 22d of January. You considered your interests and feelings injured by the action of the new Board. Your presence, or certainly full representations, might be important to the Committee as well as to yourself.

"If you should determine to stay, I can only say that you will find me, as I ever have been, your firm friend, and disposed to justify you in doing that which shall legitimately carry out our object.

"From what I heard in conversation with Mr. Smith, (Wadsworth and Smith,) I should be led to believe that you could readily raise contributions enough for your expenses.

"With great respect and friendship.

"*Washington, Sept.* 22, 1840."

To this resolution and letter I replied as follows:

"London, *Oct.* 29, 1840.

"*To the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society:*

"Gentlemen: — I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your recent resolution, without date, enclosed in a letter from our respected friend, Mr. ———.

"Although I am under the impression that the committee are clothed, in the absence of the Directors, with full powers, and have therefore felt a little surprise at the purport of the resolution, yet I can feel no desire that they should assume responsibilities, except when they judge it expedient for the interests of the institution.

"I should immediately return to the United States, did

I not feel bound by regard to the interests of the cause of African colonization, to remain for a few weeks longer, and the reasons imposing this duty upon me, I now beg leave briefly to state to the gentlemen of the committee, and through them also to the Board of Directors. I must also beg that my former communications with the present one to the committee, may be submitted, at the earliest meeting of the Directors.

" *First.* It has been impossible for me, as yet, to secure an interview with the general committee of the African Civilization Society, but such an interview may at no distant day be expected. The distinguished members of that committee have been absent from London ever since my arrival, but are now beginning to return.

" *Second.* I addressed a letter some weeks since, to Sir T. F. Buxton, on the subject of the society, and have within a few days received his reply. To this letter, it is my purpose to make answer.

" *Third.* At the earnest advice of Dr. Hodgkin, I visited Scotland, during the great assemblage of learned and scientific men at Glasgow, at the British Association, and sought every possible opportunity of correcting the errors and misrepresentations which are universally afloat in regard to the Colonization Society and Liberia, and I wish to avail myself of the advantages which the formation of an extensive acquaintance has given me for diffusing light and information on the general subject, and the great objects of my mission.

" *Fourth.* There is a prospect that with time and patience, the British Colonization Society, or at least a committee on the subject, may be organized, through whose influence pecuniary aid may be secured to the cause. But publications on the question are indispensable preliminaries to any success.

"*Fifth.* It must be recollected that for the last seven or eight years, this whole empire has been given up to the Abolitionists; that the Colonization Society and Liberia have been objects of their special hostility and reproach; that American citizens have visited this Island, and are now here, to vilify the character of their own country, in connection with their inflammatory attacks upon slavery; and that the formation of opinion in such a nation as this, is not the work of a day.

"I beg leave to assure the gentlemen of the Committee and of the Directors, that to labor for the cause of African colonization, in England, even with all the support and encouragement, which my friends in America could give, would be no enviable task, but a sense of duty alone, to a cause very dear to my heart, and of great magnitude and importance to my judgment, would incline me to stay a moment, cut off from all pecuniary aid and with my enthusiasm chilled by words of coldness and discouragement from the United States. I trust the Committee and Board will make due provision for the payment of my salary, to my family, as their circumstances at present demand my very special and sympathising attentions.

"With the greatest respect,

"I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

"Your friend and servant,

"R. R. GURLEY.

I was favored with no further communications, either from the Committee or Directors; from the latter I received not a line during my absence from the country.

It may be pertinent to indicate, here, what I deem erroneous in the preceding resolutions and letter of the Committee.

"*First.* It will be seen by recurring to the resolutions

of the Directors creating my appointment, that the time thereof was not in terms limited; and, I add, understood, (at least by myself,) to be subject to the future consideration and decision of the Committee or Directors.

" *Second.* I had never solicited the Committee or Directors, (even had the time been limited,) to extend it, but merely expressed to the Committee my opinion, that no great results could be anticipated from an agency without time, patience and prudence, and that, if these were expected, the mission must be prolonged for several months, if not for a year. This opinion was submitted as an opinion merely, for consideration by the Committee, if competent to consider it, and if not, through them, to the Directors.

" *Third.* It is remarkable, that while the Directors, in their resolution sanctioning the mission, direct that I should 'proceed with all convenient despatch, with general discretionary powers *under instructions from the Executive Committee*, to communicate to the friends of African civilization in that country, the policy and views of this Society, to collect such information as may be valuable, to cement a friendly understanding and co-operation, and to lay the foundations of an effective and harmonious action in the promotion of the benevolent objects which the friends of Africa on both sides of the Atlantic, have at heart;' and while the Committee had transmitted certain instructions under the dates of June 29th and July 27th, indicating no consciousness of want of authority, they should suddenly deem themselves *unauthorized* to consider propositions not designed to 'enlarge or contract the simple object' for which I was commissioned, but to carry out the very *general object* set forth in the resolution just quoted, of the Directors.

It is remarkable, also, that on the 27th of July, just as I arrived in London, the Committee felt *authorized* to give instructions relating to my movements after the completion of my mission; thus implying a fixed limit to what had been left undetermined; but that on the 22d of September, they felt *unauthorized* to do more than leave me, (in case I should transcend the term which they *imagined* limited,) to act on my own responsibility to the Directors, both for approval and compensation.

In the letter enclosing this resolution, it is remarked:

"Several of those propositions were deemed very inexpedient; our construction of our constitution inhibited any action on others, and, indeed, so far as regarded your mission to England, we view it as an act of the Directors, which we have neither a right nor the power to interfere with."

The following resolution of the Directors, bearing date Dec. 13, 1838, exhibits the powers conferred upon this Committee immediately after its formation:

"*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee be charged with the business of appointing agents, and fixing their salaries, throughout the United States; of superintending such expeditions as may be directed by the Board for the colony; *and carrying into effect the resolutions thereof*, and such other business as shall be necessary for the conducting the affairs of the Society in the absence of the Board from the city of Washington."

To the writer, it appears evident that the express language of the resolution of the Directors in my appointment, directing me to proceed "under instructions from the Executive Committee," and also the charge originally given to the Committee 'to carry into effect the resolutions' of the Directors, not only authorized but bound the

Committee to extend to him their best counsels and all possible aid in accomplishing the objects of his mission.

The public will judge whether the suggestions upon which I sought instructions in my letter of August 20, involved any plans or measures which would be deemed inhibited by a fair construction of the constitution of the Society. Several of the propositions indicated must be regarded, if not indispensable, highly important towards effecting the purpose enjoined by the Directors, viz: "to cement a friendly understanding and co-operation, and to lay the foundation of an effective and harmonious action in the promotion of the benevolent objects which the friends of Africa on both sides of the Atlantic have at heart." If the commission held by the writer under the authority of the Directors was conferred in violation of the constitution, certain legitimate means of effecting its ends must be regarded as at variance with that instrument; but if the former was not opposed to it, neither were the latter. The Committee are not authorized, that I am aware, to give the interpretation of unconstitutionality to the acts and decisions of the Directors.

"*Fourth.* The Committee having left me no alternative but either to return, before I had even opportunity to confer with the General Committee of the Civilization Society, or to remain in London on my own responsibility, I determined to stay, and transmitted to them my reasons, with a request that those, with my former communications, might be submitted at the earliest meeting, to the Directors. Is it not somewhat marvelous, that the Committee failed to invite immediately to my letters and suggestions the attention of the Directors; especially as at the date of the last, a month was to elapse before the expiration of what the Committee erroneously sup-

posed the prescribed term of the mission; unless the imagined term of four months commenced when I embarked, instead of at the time of my arrival in London, which few will, I think, conclude to have been the case. Such an idea certainly never entered my own mind.

If this Committee recognized no right nor authority in their general instructions to carry into effect the resolutions of the Directors, nor in the specific directions to that purpose, expressed in the resolutions of the writer's appointment; if they felt restrained from deciding on the propriety of his stay or return; if they left the responsibility of the continuance and proceedings of the mission with himself, subject for approval and compensation to the judgment of the Directors, it would seem but reasonable that the whole subject, (especially as in these peculiar circumstances he had been impelled by regard to the cause, to assume such responsibility until he could learn the views of the Directors,) should have been brought to their consideration without delay.

It should be observed, that the Committee scrupled not to withhold what was due on my *salary as Secretary*, after the 11th of October, (the annual amount having been fixed by the Board of Directors;) that their Chairman felt authorised to be present, and exert his influence against any further appropriation in behalf of the mission, when the resolution of the New York Board, *based upon that previously adopted by the Committee at Washington*, was under discussion; that they thus cut off important resources from my family at home, and every chance of support from the United States for myself abroad; and, finally, that they felt authorized, in the numbers of the African Repository—the organ of their sentiments—first issued after my departure, to

insert articles as well adapted to conciliate public favor in England, "to cement a friendly understanding and co-operation, and to lay the foundation of an effective and harmonious action in the promotion of the benevolent objects which the friends of Africa, on both sides of the Atlantic, have at heart," as are the pamphlets of the Abolitionists, to win over the reason and affections of the people of our Southern States. My only consolation was, that scarce a copy of the work found its way to England.*

My circumstances in England, and the peculiar state of the public mind, rendered it expedient to resort, as far as

* Under date of September 29, a respected member of the Board of Directors wrote that he had seen "the meagre and indefinite instructions of the Committee at Washington, which will be forwarded you;" and added, "they seem disposed to throw all responsibility on yourself, except to prohibit your doing any thing." Again he observes: "The reasons on which opposition is felt strongly to your remaining, are: 1st. They seem to have no confidence in your success there, nor, indeed, in your negotiations either, for they apprehend mischief if you do any thing. At Washington, and here, I am sorry to say, this is the feeling, as you may infer from their action and correspondence.

"But, 2d. The impression has been fixed that, even admitting your disclaimance of any participation in Mr. ———'s* scheme, which I regard as conclusive exoneration of yourself, and proof that the letter from us was uncalled for and unworthy of us, still it is alleged that you are seeking for yourself an appointment under Mr. Buxton; and it is assumed, which I cannot believe without evidence, that after a life devoted to our service, you are about to identify yourself with the British interest, and sacrifice us and our noble enterprise in America!!!"

* The gentleman here alluded to, needs no vindication from the writer, or from any one. His exertions in the cause of humanity have been great, and he entertains no views unworthy of his high character and reputation.

practicable, to the press, as the means of correcting error and propagating truth on the subject of the American Colonization Society; and I take the liberty of introducing, as a part of this statement, a correspondence with Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, which appeared in the Morning Post of December 26, 1840. To the liberality of the conductors of that journal I am under very special obligations.

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN SIR THOMAS F. BUXTON, BART., AND MR. GURLEY, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

(No. 1.)

LONDON, *September* 3, 1840.

SIR: Since I had the honor of a personal interview, and submitted to your consideration the objects of my mission, as a representative of the American Colonization Society, to the friends of African civilization, and of the African race, in Great Britain, (among whom you, sir, are eminently distinguished,) I have become more deeply, if possible, than ever impressed with the importance of a union (in sentiment at least) of the English and American mind, for the accomplishment of the vast and truly philanthropic scheme so ably developed in your recent work on the slave trade, and its remedy.

My great respect for your understanding, and perfect confidence in your candor and benevolence, are all the apology I need offer for asking you, very respectfully, to consider how numerous and powerful must be the advantages which will be secured to the African Civilization Society, in this country, should its course be such

as to command the regard and confidence of the great majority of the Americans, and especially of the wise and good men in the Southern States, upon whom mainly depends the improvement of the people of color in those States, and who possess such ample means of co-operation, through the agency of these people, for the moral and intellectual renovation of Africa.

You may, sir, I think, rest assured that in the opinions of the best men in all the Southern (or slave-holding) States of the American Union, in the undivided judgment of the south, so far as that judgment inclines to the elevation and freedom of the colored race, and in the general opinion of the north, the plan and policy of the American Colonization Society are deemed, for the present, as the chief plan and policy, most benevolent towards the colored race, tending to more good in all directions than any other for the same end which have arisen in the United States;

That all those in the south who desire the ultimate freedom of the slaves, are the friends of the American Colonization Society, and those who desire to perpetuate slavery are its opponents;

That the principal hope cherished in America of the abolition of African slavery in the United States arises from the opening prospects of civilization in Africa, and the establishment on her shore of communities or states of colored emigrants, free, self-governed, (or training to become such,) and Christian;

That as the prospect of an inviting home in Africa for the colored population of the United States appears more or less encouraging, the spirit of emancipation rises or declines;

That whatever may be the effect of time, of reason, of

reflection, of the noble experiment of West India emancipation on the governing mind of the Southern States, any interference at present of societies exclusively northern or foreign in their organization, in the spirit of reproach or denunciation, to abolish slavery, but exasperates, and tends to array in hostility the northern and southern sections of our Union against each other, and to destroy all bonds of confidence and sympathy between the master and the slave;

That the vast scheme for Africa which you propose is approved by the American Colonization Society, is deemed very similar to their own, and, if wisely and vigorously prosecuted, must secure the freedom and happiness of the negro race in Africa, and, by means the most unexceptionable, I trust also throughout the world;

That there exist in the United States, some means for the advancement of this scheme to be found nowhere else; and should bonds of sympathy be created between the citizens of that country and the Society of which you, sir, may be regarded as the founder, a great gain would (at least so it appears to me,) be secured to the cause of humanity. At all events, may we not hope that in Africa, as we have a common object, there may be mutual kindness and co-operation?

This can require no abandonment of principle on either side. You have well said, "The field there is wide enough for the exertions of all, without jealousy or collision."

All the experience of the Colonization Society will be cheerfully placed at your disposal.

Before I have the honor of an introduction to your general Committee, I wish to be favored, if agreeable, with another personal interview with yourself. There

are many points relating to the state of public sentiment in America, on the subject of slavery and the influence of the Colonization Society, which I should be happy in conversation to have the honor to explain, and the more so as I am informed that much excitement has been produced in my own country by the proceedings of the recent Anti-slavery Convention in this city. It will afford me great pleasure if I can in any way, while in England, promote the interests of the African Civilization Society. I think the objections urged from various quarters against it have little force. It is a great and noble scheme you have proposed for the deliverance and happiness of millions. May your invaluable life be long spared to promote it.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Most respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. R. GURLEY.

SIR T. F. BUXTON, Bart.

(No. 2.)

FROM SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, BART., TO THE REV. R. R. GURLEY, SECRETARY TO THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

SIR: It is with real reluctance that I address you upon the subject of those plans for the African race which you so ably and (I doubt not from a conviction of their excellence,) so zealously advocate, but on which I find myself compelled to differ from you. Some observations which have appeared in certain late American publications, as well as your letter of the 5th of September, seem to leave me no plea for silence, since it would be unfaithful to my views of truth, and unfair to you, were

I to withhold a renewed expression of my sentiments with regard to the American Colonization Society.

Before I enter upon it, however, let me thank you for the very friendly mention (far too flattering, indeed,) which you have made of me personally; and let me again assure you that the difference of our opinions cannot alter my estimate of the sincerity of your desires for the good of Africa.

My opinion of the tendency of the American Colonization Society was, as you are aware, publicly given some years ago. My attention at that time was wholly directed to the question of existing negro slavery. The principles of emancipation were then progressing in our land, they were dawning in yours, and, believing the Colonization Society to be practically, if not theoretically, an impediment to them, I joined with some of the most tried and experienced English Abolitionists in expressing my dissent. Since then the question of negro slavery having been, in our case, happily disposed of, my attention has been specially directed to the slave trade. A more close and accurate study has altered, or perhaps I should say enlarged, my opinions upon it, and upon the methods to be employed for its eradication. I can no longer believe in the efficacy of external force—I can no longer rest contented to abide the slow progression of the principles of justice throughout the world. Persuaded, as I am, that the slave trade is as great a loss of wealth to the African, as it is a present gain to the European, I now think that the opening of the eyes of the former to the true economies of the case, offers a powerful means of abolishing the traffic; and, while I would most joyfully aid in any method of checking the demand, and would also for a time continue our mea-

sures of compulsion, I would lay by far the greatest stress on all those efforts which may tend to enlighten and civilize the African mind.

These views have been represented as coming round to, and uniting with, those of the American Colonization Society, and a misapprehension, I perceive, exists in the minds of some of your countrymen with regard to our Civilization Society, even in denominating it a Colonization Society. This is a serious mistake. It is in spirit, as in name, a Society, not for the colonization, but for the civilization of Africa. Our object is to civilize, not to colonize; not to make ourselves masters of the resources of that continent, but to teach its natives their use and value; not to procure an outlet for any portion of our surplus population, but to show to Africa the folly as well as the crime of exporting her own children. It is true, I may be desirous that we should form settlements, and even that we should obtain the right of jurisdiction in certain districts, because we could not otherwise secure a fair trial or full scope for our normal schools, our model farms, and our various projects to awaken the minds of the natives, to prove to them the importance of agriculture, and to excite the spirit of commerce. But beyond the attainment of this object, I have no ulterior views; it is no part of my plan to extend the British empire, or to encourage emigration to Africa, excepting so far as may be requisite for the benefit of that country.

This is the distinct character and object of our Society. Your objects, as I understand them, profess to be, primarily, to abolish slavery in the United States, by gradually moving your whole black population to Afri-

ca;* and, secondly, to benefit Africa, and check the slave trade, by establishing colonies of emancipated negroes along her coasts.

Our professed objects, therefore, though akin, are not the same; the field of your operation is primarily America, that of ours Africa. But you will say that, since your Society collaterally aims at the same end as ours, we ought to give yours that support of name and influence to which you are pleased to attach some importance. We cannot do this; and I will in a candid and friendly spirit state to you the reasons. But I must premise that I am not prepared to say that Liberia, constituted as it is, may not have been the means of spreading civilization, and thereby diminishing the slave trade, in Africa; and, so far as the colony has this effect, it has my good wishes that it may continue to prosper. But even as regards Africa, there is a wide difference in our views. We wish to send to Africa but few persons, and these in the character of teachers. We wish them to be diffused as a leaven amongst her people, not to form colonies for their own advantage. It is my anxious wish to send to Africa none but those who are actuated by an ardent desire for her improvement, and on whose moral and religious principles we can rely.

The purpose of your association is to collect colored people for emigration to Africa, without, if I mistake not, insisting on any very special regard to character or

* The second article of the Society's constitution declares, that "The object to which attention is to be *exclusively* directed is, to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their own consent,) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient."

ability. When, however, we come to the American part of the question, I fear we shall be found to differ much more widely. There is nothing in your institution, abstractedly considered, to which I can object. If the free colored people desire to emigrate from their native soil, and to settle elsewhere, I can see no reason why you should not form a society to aid them in so doing; and further, if they be ignorant of the benefit of such emigration, I can see no objection to your enlightening them as to its advantages. If confined to such aid and persuasion, your Society would at least be harmless, and probably beneficial. My objection, then, lies not so much against the principles of the Colonization Society, as set forth by the letter of its constitution, as against those which I find promulgated in the speeches and writings of its advocates, and against what I believe to be the practical tendency of the institution itself. I hardly need tell you that I am, in the fullest sense of the term, an "immediate Abolitionist," that I conscientiously believe that man can have no right to property in man, and that the restoration to freedom can in every country be effected without permanent injury to either party, and greatly to the eventual benefit of both master and slave. With this confession of my faith on this subject, how can I be expected to unite with a society which, by the mouth of its best advocates, and in almost all its public declarations, if it does not justify, yet palliates the iniquity of slavery? which, allowing the system to be an evil, soothes the conscience of the slave-owner by maintaining it to be a necessary evil, obstructs the efforts of the Abolitionists by declaring immediate abolition to be impossible, which diverts attention from the great principles of truth on the subject, and, by holding out a

hope of emancipation, which too obviously will take centuries to realise, tends practically to rivet the fetters of the slave? Further, I am of opinion that the strong line of demarcation attempted to be drawn between white and black is unjust, and not accordant with the Apostle's declaration that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men." How can I, then, support a society which acknowledges, excuses, and fosters this spirit of caste?

Again, I apprehend that your society, though doubtless unintentionally on the part of many of its members, has practically proved an instrument of oppression to the free blacks in your land. In order to induce them to emigrate, various methods, more or less coercive, are resorted to. You have had every opportunity of displaying to them the advantages of the plan, yet throughout the Union they refuse to embrace it, or do so with extreme reluctance; they persist in regarding Liberia rather as a place of exile than a desired home, and prefer their claim to live as free citizens in America. But I have still another objection. Were the free people of color even indifferent, and as willing to go as to stay, I question whether, regarding the interest of the slave, it is a justifiable measure to remove them. Those who have escaped from bondage ought to be the natural protectors of those of their color who still remain in slavery, and, I think, it is hard to press a plan to withdraw from those who have so few friends, their natural allies and ablest champions. The arguments employed for your scheme are, in themselves, I must own, repulsive to me. Your language is, "Be abolition a duty or not, the slave States will not abolish slavery—cease, then, your struggle for the slave; employ your benevolence for the free. Whether the feel-

ing against the colored man be a prejudice or not, it is insurmountable. Assist, therefore, to remove him to another country."

I grant that slavery and prejudice are now triumphant; but I deny that they will always remain so. It is my conviction that "truth, by its own sinews, will prevail," and that its being borne down for the present is no argument why the efforts of its champions should be relaxed; but, on the contrary, the strongest argument why they should be redoubled. I cannot take lower ground than this, and therefore it is that I cannot join in the Colonization Society. Still, in making this declaration, I desire to abstain from any harsh, or even uncourteous expressions towards an institution which, though, as I think, adopting a mistaken line, avows its aim to be the alleviation of human suffering.

I can also feel for the slave-owner, and make allowance for the toils cast around him by habit, education, and circumstances; but I must reiterate my firm opinion that, for nations as for individuals, the path of justice is the path of policy. I am persuaded, therefore, that the line of expediency adopted by the Colonization Society, though it may not appear to be the easiest, will not in the end be found either so safe or so short a way out of the difficulties of the case as the direct road of strict equity.

And here, sir, allow me to express my hope that, since you possess unusual opportunities of conveying information to your fellow-countrymen, having the ear of the south as well as of the north, you may be disposed to acquaint yourself very accurately with the results of our experiment of emancipation for their benefit. You are, I am persuaded, no advocate for the vested right of man in the blood and sinews of his fellow man. You have re-

peatedly acknowledged that you are adverse to immediate abolition, *only* because you fear it would be a source of anarchy, and would entail misery on the negro himself, not because it might, for a time, involve a pecuniary loss to the master. Let me, then, entreat you to look at the actual condition of our West-India Islands. There you will find the utmost social order and political tranquillity, and a peasantry as peaceable, and probably as moral, as any in the world. When you shall have convinced yourself of these facts, I do you the justice to believe no arguments of mine will be needed to induce you to employ your talents and influence in bringing them home to the minds of your countrymen.

Before I conclude, let me express my cordial concurrence in the hope "that in Africa," as we have similar, though not identical, objects, "there will be mutual kindness and co-operation;" and let me assure you that I do not, by any means, underrate the aid of the American public. I still look for the assistance of *all* foes to the slave-trade, however we may differ in our views on any other points. Accept my thanks for the liberal manner in which you have imparted the results of your experience in Africa, and believe me, with sincere respect,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) T. FOWELL BUXTON.

NORTHREPS HALL, NEAR AYLSHAM.

October 9, 1840.

(No. 3.)

LONDON, *Nov.* 7, 1840.

SIR: Having been absent for several weeks from London, I have had the honor but recently of receiving your letter of the 9th of last month. The spirit of candor

and liberality which pervades this communication, is worthy of your high character, and will be justly appreciated by the members and friends of the American Colonization Society.

It is hardly necessary for me to repeat that I approve of the scheme of the African Civilization Society, as developed in your recent able work, and deem it in its main features, so far as it relates to Africa, the same, or nearly so, with that of the American Colonization Society. It is true you draw some distinctions between these institutions in reference to their designs and operations in Africa. These distinctions may, if I correctly apprehend your language, be reduced to two—first, that the Civilization Society proposes no settlements as a home or asylum for a surplus population, but such only as may be required for the benefit of Africa; and, second, that it is her anxious desire to send out such only as are actuated by an ardent purpose for her improvement, while the Colonization Society would found settlements that may prove inviting asylums to the colored population of the United States; and in the next place, that this Society insists on no very special regard to the character and ability of its emigrants. In respect to Africa, you admit their objects are nearly, if not entirely, the same—the suppression of the slave trade, and her civilization. In the chosen agents for effecting these objects, free men of color, they agree. In the establishment of schools, and model farms, and legitimate commerce with the native tribes, and negotiations and treaties for the abolition of the traffic in slaves, they agree; and I am happy to know that "you may be desirous that we (the Civilization Society) should form settlements, and even obtain the right and jurisdiction in certain districts, because we could not

otherwise secure a fair trial or full scope for our normal schools, our model farms, and our various projects to awaken the minds of the natives, to prove to them the importance of agriculture, and to excite the spirit of commerce."

Several distinguished friends of the African Civilization Society have recently given their thoughts upon it to the public. Of course neither you, sir, nor the society over which you with such ability preside, are to be held responsible for their sentiments. Yet it is worthy of observation, that both Mr. Jeremie and Sir G. Stephen regarded the plan of your society as one of colonization. It is true, Mr. Jeremie condemns the American Colonization Society; yet the *Eclectic Review*, after quoting the severe but unjust remarks of this gentleman on that society, adds, "Now, agreeing as we do in all that is here said, we think Mr. Jeremie leaves the case just where Mr. Gurley has put it, namely, that, in so far as they regard Africa, the two systems (the civilization and colonization) are one, so much so that they would be wholly one if America would let her two millions go free." Sir George Stephen expresses himself boldly and strongly on this point—"If we found settlements in Africa, colonization must follow; wherever the British flag is raised, thousands and tens of thousands will seek protection under it; it is sheer hypocrisy to pretend that this is not the consequence of our civilization plan, if fairly carried out; and therefore I do most deeply regret the postponement of a legislative, or, at least, an official declaration of the principles on which the civil government of all British possessions in Africa will hereafter be conducted."

Whether the settlements proposed be more or less extended, I must be permitted to express my entire con-

viction that their benefit to Africa will greatly depend upon their organization into communities, with laws and government founded upon their choice or consent, and mostly administered by themselves, and, so far as the establishment of such communities or colonies is not contemplated by the Civilization Society, I must regard its scheme as *defective*. Your own idea of forming settlements, and acquiring jurisdiction over certain districts of country, settlements composed principally of free persons of color, permanent it is to be presumed, includes, it would seem to me, the main elements and principles developed in the colonization of Liberia, unless all political power is to be withheld from these settlements, which would be very detrimental to their influence and prosperity. Models of good political and social institutions are of infinite importance to Africa; nor could you if you would, nor would you if you could, limit the emigration of enterprizing colored men to those settlements, allured thither by prospects of profitable agriculture, of gainful and lawful trade, of honorable distinctions or of extended usefulness. And surely, while the civilization of Africa affords the strongest motive to your society, I see not why a due measure of regard should not be extended to those who devote themselves as permanent settlers on her soil, and from whom, as from small and weak beginnings, may arise the power and grandeur of states and empires.

But your society would send out such persons only as are actuated by an ardent desire for the improvement of Africa, and the Colonization Society shows no special regard to the character and ability of its emigrants. To say nothing here of the extreme difficulty of planting settlements with sufficient numbers by persons animated

exclusively by the high motives of religion, or of the question whether feeble communities of this character will prove of the same benefit to Africa as larger ones of a less pure and unmixed description, you may rest assured that the Colonization Society has not been regardless of the moral character of its emigrants; that the decidedly incapable and vicious are, when known to be such, excluded from its aid; and that from the first, the Directors have sought to impress the minds of those about to embark for Liberia, with the greatness of their responsibilities to their posterity, their race, and their God, and to provide the best means for their intellectual and moral improvement, and for the education of their children; to animate them with the spirit of industry, enterprize, sobriety, and liberty; and, in fine, to make them realize that to no people has Heaven ever entrusted interests more precious than to them, inasmuch as an almost boundless territory and millions of barbarians may by their influence be reclaimed, and a free state and commonwealth of Christians tower above the frowning wilderness and more horrible superstitions of Africa. And what is the actual condition, what the moral influence, of that colony? And here it may be pertinent to allude to the sentiments cherished by the citizens of Liberia towards the American Colonization Society. On the 29th of September, 1836, in pursuance of public notice, the citizens of Monrovia (the principal town of the colony) assembled to express their opinions of the scheme of colonization. The following, among other resolutions, were adopted:

On motion of Mr. H. Teage:—

"*Resolved*, That this meeting regard the Colonizing Institution as one of the highest, holiest, and most bene-

volent enterprises of the present day; that as a plan for the amelioration of the colored race it takes the precedence of all that have been presented to the attention of the modern world; that in its operations it is peaceful and safe—in its tendencies beneficial and advantageous; that it is entitled to the highest veneration and unbounded confidence of every man of color; and that what it has already accomplished demands our devout thanks to those noble and disinterested philanthropists that compose it, as being, under God, the greatest earthly benefactors of a despised and depressed portion of the human family."

"Whereas it has been widely and maliciously circulated in the United States of America that the inhabitants of this colony are unhappy in their situation, and anxious to return:"

On motion of the Rev. B. R. Wilson:

"*Resolved*, That this report is false and malicious, and originated only in a desire to injure the colony, by calling off the support and sympathy of its friends; that, so far from a desire to return, we would regard such an event as the greatest calamity that could befall us."

On motion of the Rev. Amos Herring:

"*Resolved*, That this meeting entertains the deepest gratitude to the members of the Colonization Society for the organization and continuance of an enterprise so noble and praiseworthy as that of restoring to the blessings of liberty hundreds and thousands of the sore-oppressed and long-neglected sons of Africa; that we believe it the only institution that can, under existing circumstances, succeed in elevating the colored population; and that advancement in agriculture, mechanism,

and science will enable us speedily to aspire to a rank with the other nations of the earth."

That the emigrants have been judiciously selected, or, if not, have been placed in circumstances to acquire the dispositions and abilities for the successful discharge of their duties, must be clear, if they prosper and exert an extensive influence for the suppression of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa. As a body, they have indeed been chosen with some care, and their new circumstances have powerfully contributed to improve and elevate their character. The testimony I adduce concerning both, is of recent date, and from entirely authentic sources. The present Governor, Mr. Buchanan, a gentleman personally known to me, and of the highest integrity, in a letter, dated the present year, to that eminent philanthropist, Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, observes, "It has been said, both in America and England, that the colonists were not unfavorable to the slave trade, and, in proof of it, some isolated fact, such as I have mentioned, is adduced as conclusive. The mode of proof is as unfair as the charge is false. The general voice of the colony has ever been loud against the slave trade, nor has any individual directly participated in it. Indeed, I am confident that the penalty of the law against it, which is death, would have been inflicted on any one who would have dared to violate it, even during the period I have alluded to." Again, "No fact is more notorious along the coast than the uncompromising hostility of the colony to the slave trade. There is one aspect of the case of peculiar interest to the poor native, in reference to which, if his testimony cannot be heard, his conduct may at least be quoted. The colony is an asylum to the

oppressed and enslaved of all the tribes around it. Here they flee from the storms of war and the horrors of bondage, in the full confidence of protection and safety. The whole history of the colony, almost from the first day of its existence, is crowded with instances. Some of the most interesting and memorable character have occurred during my residence here. At one time, during the month of July last, a king, with several hundreds of his people, the wretched remnant of a once powerful tribe, fled to us for protection against a merciless foe, who had ravaged his country for the purpose of making a whole nation slaves. Numbers were killed and many more captured, and the fugitives were closely pursued to the very boundary of the colony, but the moment they passed it they were safe and free. The enemy, though flushed with victory, and thirsting for victims, dared not pursue them into our territory. These and many hundreds more who have in like manner escaped from the knife and the chain, are now living on the lands of the colony in peace, secure from all their foes." Equally decided is the testimony of Governor Buchanan to the beneficial influence of the colony in exciting desires, among the native population, for the comforts and conveniences of civilized life, in arousing their industry, awakening emulation, and by exhibiting the order and harmony of well organized society, the mildness and justice of good government, and the blessed influences of Christianity on the social and political relations of life, impressing their minds with the value and dignity of knowledge, civilization, and our holy religion. "I do not mean to say," he adds, "that there are no exceptions to this general good influence, nor that the natives are all at once raised to the desired standard; far from it.

There are counteracting causes found among the colonists, and the superstition and indolence, the ignorance and degradation, of the natives are immense barriers to their improvement. But this I can say, the adverse influences at work in the colony are weak and limited, while the good are many and powerful; and as to the natives, while a respectable number have put on the garb of civilization, and are making rapid advances in the knowledge and practice of true godliness, the mass are in the way of improvement. They generally are anxious for schools and religious teachers, and are making commendable efforts in acquiring the arts of civilized life. The work is one of time, but it is begun, and will go on with ever-increasing rapidity to its complete and glorious consummation."

Capt. Stoll, of the Royal navy, who, if I mistake not, visited the colony in the present year, in his letter of the 17th of July, to Dr. Hodgkin, after avowing the belief that it promises to be the only successful institution of the sort, "keeping in view its objects—that of raising the emancipated slave into a free man, preparing him for the exercise of civil liberty in all its various branches, from the Governor to the laborer, the extinction of the slave trade, and the religious and moral improvement of Africa at large"—testifies to the contentment, industry, and generally moral and religious character of the colonists, their good management of public affairs, and that "no one in the remotest degree connected with the slave trade is allowed ever to communicate with Liberia." He speaks of missionaries as being in a course of preparation for their work, and of the schools as creditable when the small means of the people are considered. "The colonists, with few exceptions," we quote his

words, "are all members of churches, and I can safely testify, that a more orderly, sober set of people I never met with. I did not hear an improper or a profane expression during my visit. Spirits are excluded in most, if not all, the settlements. They have formed themselves into various societies, such as agricultural, botanical, mechanical, for promoting Christian knowledge; also a ladies' society for clothing the poor," &c. Finally, he concludes with this remark—"I went there unbiassed, and left it with a conviction that colonies on the principle of Liberia ought to be established as soon as possible, if we wish to serve Africa." But allow me to add a few facts, gathered from the recent report of the New York Colonization Society and from late numbers of *The African Repository*. Hundreds of native Africans, some recaptured by the authorities of the United States, when about to be consigned to perpetual slavery, and placed in Liberia by the humanity of the American Government, others rescued from slave factories by the colonists themselves, are now industrious citizens on its soil, capable of managing their own affairs, and enjoying the benefits of education and the light of Christianity. More than thirty kings and headmen have, by treaty with the colonial Government, renounced the slave trade. Several tribes have placed themselves under the protection of the colony, and look for redress of their grievances to its laws and tribunals. Some of the chiefs, who have abandoned the slave trade, are turning increased attention to the cultivation of the soil: new seeds, plants, fruits, and agricultural implements have been introduced, their young men are taught the mechanic arts, and the whole people are stimulated by powerful motives of example and interest to improvement.

And must not reflection on these statements—in connection with the fact that, under the shield and through the gates of this colony, introduction has been given to about sixty missionaries (including ordained ministers and teachers) into this region of Africa, where, before its origin, not one was to be found; that several seminaries for education in letters and the mechanical arts have been founded, native languages reduced to writing, books and tracts in those languages issued from the press, and that at a single station are fifty-nine hopeful African converts to the faith of Christ—prompt every disciple of the Saviour to acknowledge that a good Providence has guarded there the dawning light from extinction, and made Liberia, even in its early growth, fruitful in blessings? Sir, many of the founders of this colony, in faith, hope, charity, and patience, have labored and died; but they have left a monument to their praise, on that shore, indestructible. We see in Liberia a well modelled, well-proportioned republic of colored men; a miniature republic, it is true, but destined, we trust, to a rapid growth, adorned not only by the abodes of civilized men, but by the villages, schools, churches, legislative halls, judicial tribunals, all the social and political institutions of a free and Christian people, kindling to enthusiasm by the spirit of liberty, and aspiring to extend far over Africa the wisdom and beneficence of their manners and laws. Under their protection the missionaries of many communions are assembling to devise and execute plans for the regeneration of Africa. Superstition retreats before them; and her victims, dejected, in iron bound, and shorn of honor, come forth from clay-built huts, from forests, dens, and mountain caves, to hear those Divine words of mercy which shall turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.

But I may have occupied too much space on this part of the subject. You seem disposed to admit that Liberia has been the means of spreading civilization, and thereby diminishing the slave trade, and to cherish wishes for its prosperity; yet, in regard to what you term the "American part of the question," you imagine, sir, a wide, if not an irreconcilable, difference between us. I am happy to observe, that to the Colonization Society in itself, or as its purpose and policy are developed in its constitution, you have no objection. "There is nothing," you remark, "in your institution, abstractedly considered, to which I can object. If the free colored people desire to emigrate from their native soil, and to settle elsewhere, I can see no reason why you should not form a society to aid them in so doing; and, further, if they be ignorant of the benefit of such emigration, I can see no objection to your enlightening them as to its advantages."

"If confined to such aid and persuasion your Society would at least be harmless, and probably beneficial."

Some surprise, I confess, I have felt at these admissions, since, in referring to the scheme of the Society, as set forth in the second article of its constitution, which declares that "the object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color residing in our country in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient," you interpret this object to be, *primarily*, to abolish slavery in the United States, by gradually moving your whole black population to Africa; and *secondarily*, to benefit Africa and check the slave trade, by establishing colonies of emancipated negroes along her coast; and declare your objection to its practical tendency, among other reasons,

"because it directs attention from the great principles of truth and justice on the subject, and, by holding out a hope of emancipation, which too obviously will take centuries to realize, tends practically to rivet the fetters of the slave;" and, further, because, "were the free people of color even indifferent, and as willing to go as to stay, you question whether, regarding the interests of the slaves, it is a justifiable measure to induce them to remove." "Those," you add, "who have escaped from bondage ought to be the natural allies and protectors of those of their color who remain in slavery, and I think it hard to press a plan to withdraw from those who have so few friends, their natural allies and ablest protectors."

If the very scheme of the Society be a delusion, tending to rivet the fetters of bondage—if to present as reasons for emigration to the free people of color the advantages of this scheme, to themselves, and through them to their whole race, by the civilization of Africa (for in no other way has the plan been pressed upon them,) be unjustifiable, considering their relations and duties to the slaves, I see not how the Society might, upon any hypothesis, "be harmless, and probably beneficial." Yet, with my own convictions that to encourage manumission by colonization is among the most effectual means at present of promoting general emancipation, and that the establishment, by our free people of color, of civilized and Christian institutions in Africa, and the exaltation of their own character by so great a work, will most effectually contribute to the interests and ultimate freedom of the slaves, I should, even had I adopted the principles of immediate abolition, sustain the Colonization Society.

I am persuaded that the American Colonization Society (whether the doctrine of immediate abolition as a *universal*

doctrine be true or false, and as such a doctrine, unless confined simply to the mental renunciation of a right to regard man as *mere* property, and the recognition of his right to equal benevolence with other human beings, it appears demonstrably false,) with all the other errors which may exist among its individual members, has adopted, and is executing a policy more conducive than any other which can at present be adopted by any organized society in the United States *for the benefit of the colored race.*

On the whole subject of American slavery and the American Colonization Society, the darkest errors and misrepresentations, you will permit me to say, prevail extensively in England.

"I am persuaded, therefore," you remark, "that the line of expediency adopted by the Colonization Society, though it may now appear to be the easiest, will not in the end be found either so safe or so short a way out of the difficulties of the case as the direct road of strict equity." But if Christianity enjoins the doctrine of expediency as, in many cases, the only rule of strict equity—if the Civilization Society think it right, because expedient, rather to attack the slave trade in Africa than devote all their resources and energies to secure the triumph of the principles of justice throughout the world—the Colonization Society may plead in its defence the authority of the Civilization Society and of the Divine word.

The golden rule of our Saviour, justly pronounced by Lord Bacon the perfection of the law of nature and nations, holds authority over man in all conditions, relations and times, yet in most cases the reason and conscience of the individual or society must, under responsibilities to the lawgiver, decide upon the particular mode

of obedience. The existence of the obligation of reciprocal benevolence, imposed by this law, between man and man in all possible circumstances—a benevolence constant and enlarged as self-love—is to be recognized, yet the modes of expression or conduct thereby required vary endlessly as the relations and circumstances of human beings. This obligation is the sole foundation of human rights, and, except where human actions are defined and restrained by less general and more specific precepts, involves the whole doctrine of Christian discretion, as inculcated by the Saviour, and exemplified in the practice of his apostles.

"Nothing," says the great Edwards, "can be more evident from the New Testament (alluding to the introduction of things new and strange into the Church) than that such things ought to be done with great caution and moderation, to avoid the offence that may thereby be given, and the prejudice that might be raised to clog and hinder the progress of religion; and the apostles avoided teaching the Christians in those early days, at least for a great while, some high and excellent truths, because they could not bear them yet." "And how did Christ himself, while on earth, forbear so plainly to teach his disciples the doctrines of Christianity concerning his satisfaction, and the particular benefit of his death, resurrection, and ascension, because in the infant state in which the disciples then were, their minds were not prepared for such instructions: 'I have many things to say unto you, but you cannot bear them now.' These things might be enough to convince any one who does not think himself wiser than Christ and his apostles, that great prudence and caution should be used in introducing things into the church of God that are very uncommon, though in themselves *they may be*

very excellent, lest by our rashness and imprudent haste we hinder religion much more than help it."

Unless in the application of the Saviour's golden rule, Christian discretion, as here enforced by Edwards, both from Divine and apostolic example, is in most cases to be exercised, the language and conduct of Christ enjoining wisdom and harmlessness of action, and accommodation, as far as consists with integrity, to the circumstances, habits, and prejudices of mankind, seems unintelligible. Indeed, no doctrine in moral or physical science is more entirely settled in my own mind than that expediency, controlled and directed by the more general law of reciprocal benevolence, as already explained, must be our only guide on all questions involving the interests of the colored and white races in America. To deny this doctrine, and, independent of all circumstances and consequences, to demand immediate emancipation and social and political equality for the black race, in compliance with the claims of what is called abstract justice, is Jacobinism, and, the principle carried legitimately out, would subvert the government of England and every government in Europe. "If it be contrary," said Mr. Calhoun recently in the Senate of the United States, "to the laws of nature and nations for man to hold man in subjection individually, is it not equally contrary for a body of men to hold another in subjection? If man individually has an absolute right to self-government, have not men aggregated into states or nations an equal right? If there be a difference, is not the right the more perfect in a people or nation than in the individuals who compose it?" Again, he adds, "We behold a small island, in the German ocean, under the absolute control of a few hundred thousand individuals, holding in unlimited subjection not fewer

than one hundred and fifty millions of human beings, dispersed over every part of the globe, making not less than two hundred to each of the dominant class; and yet that class propagating a maxim with more than missionary zeal, that strikes at the foundation of this mighty power. I would say to her, and to other powers impelled by like madness, you are attempting what will prove impossible. You cannot make a monopoly of a principle so as to vend it for your own benefit. It will be carried out to its ultimate results, when its re-action will be terrific on your social and political condition. Already it begins to show its fruits. The subject mass of your population, under the name of Chartists, are now clamoring for the benefit of the maxim as applied to themselves. It is but the beginning."

The great object, you, sir, will agree, to be attained, is the freedom and happiness of the colored race.

I regard the policy of the Colonization Society most conducive of any, at present, to this end—

1. Because it tends to unite the northern and southern States. In the stability and influence of the federal union are involved the best hopes of the slaves. That union favors the cause of liberty, and whatever would weaken it is hostile to the cause of emancipation for the slave, and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. To strengthen and perpetuate this union is vitally important to the interests of all races in America, and to humanity.

2. If the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation be the true doctrine, the southern States are not prepared to receive it, and to press it now upon them from abroad, tends to throw them upon the alternative of *no* emancipation. The policy of the Colonization Society has extended and deepened convictions in the

southern mind in favor of gradual and final emancipation, and is thus approaching, if it do not at once reach, the desired end. Men of all opinions on slavery, and from all the States, exchange thoughts in a spirit of conciliation on the subject, and, if it urges not the true doctrine, it prevents the adoption of one most opposite to it; if it proposes only a palliative and not a remedy for slavery, it is preparing the way for such a remedy.

3. Because it aims to secure for the negro race of America, the highest good, as a people, to which they can aspire — a good beyond and above mere emancipation — an unembarrassed and advantageous position — an independent and national existence. Were emancipation to occur in the United States to-morrow, the chief reasons for African colonization would continue in unimpaired and even augmented vigor. The condition of the black race must be for centuries, as has been said, like that of the germ springing from the acorn at the foot of the parent tree, overshadowed and withered by the power and influence of the whites. To blend the races were undesirable if possible, and impossible if desirable. No law of morals binds men to such a result, nor, in the judgment of the wisest and best people in the United States, any law of expediency. To limit influence and exertions to such an end, would be to annihilate the greatest reason for sustaining the Colonization Society, namely,

In the 4th place, because it connects the moral and intellectual elevation of the colored population of America with the improvement of their race in Africa, making them the agents of incalculable good, not to themselves and posterity alone, but to the perishing millions of the most afflicted and barbarous quarter of the globe.

The speeches and writings of the founders of the

American Colonization Society, prove that it was limited in its direct benefits by the terms of its constitution to the free, not from disregard to the welfare of the slaves, or other portions of their race, but from a conviction that such limitation would, in its ultimate consequences, be the means of amplest and richest blessings to the colored population of the world. The late General Harper, in his letter to the Society, published in its first two reports, and Mr. Clay, in his early and able speeches in its support, view the principle it developes, and the plan it has adopted, capable of indefinite application and extension, and worthy to be prosecuted, on a large scale, by the States; and with the consent of the States interested, by the general government, in regard to emancipation and the restoration of those liberated, with their own consent, to their ancient mother country; there to found civilization and free Government, and, by their arts, enterprize, and Christianity, redeem Africa from her cruel superstitions and iron bondage, and raise her to life, importance, respectability, and a name among the nations of the earth.

"Cast your eyes," said General Harper, alluding to Africa, "on this vast continent. What a field is here presented for the blessings of civilization and Christianity, which colonies of civilized blacks afford the best and probably the only means of introducing! These, composed of blacks already instructed in the arts of civilized life and the truths of the Gospel, judiciously placed, well conducted, and constantly enlarged, will extend gradually into the interior, will form commercial and political connections with the native tribes in their vicinity, will extend those connections with tribes more and more remote, will incorporate many of the natives with the colonies, and, in their turn, make establishments and set-

tlements among the natives, and thus diffuse all around the arts of civilization, and the benefits of literary, moral, and religious instruction." "We may," said Mr. Clay, "boldly challenge the annals of human nature for the record of any human plan for the amelioration of the condition and advancement of the happiness of our race, which promised more unmixed good or more comprehensive beneficence than that of African colonization, if carried into full execution. Its benevolent purpose is not limited to the confines of one continent, nor to the prosperity of a solitary race, but embraces two of the largest quarters of the earth, and the peace and happiness of both of the descriptions of their present inhabitants, with the countless millions of their posterity, who are to succeed."

To the free people of color of the United States, (now some four or five hundred thousand,) and to those who, from among the slaves, there, shall be added to their number, must philanthropy, in my judgment, especially look, as to the elected agents of Providence for the redemption of Africa. Once aroused to a sense of the grandeur of their destiny, impelled alike by interest and duty to repossess the magnificent land from which their progenitors were cruelly forced into exile, they will at no distant day return thither, bearing with them our arts, language, and the records of a pure religion, and animated with a generous enthusiasm to found upon that shore of crime and ruin, free states and the church of God. Thus will they redeem themselves and their race from degradation and dishonor. It is by self-exertion that a people, like individuals, rise to greatness and renown.

Sir, when I consider my own country, I cannot despair of Africa. From a system of colonization, commenced

under circumstances most discouraging, two centuries ago, at Plymouth and Jamestown, has arisen the republic of North America, already embracing twenty-six States and a population of nearly twenty millions, commanding respect on every sea and every land, rearing the trophies of victorious enterprize, the monuments of her beneficence and power, at the very base of the Rocky mountains, and destined before this generation shall have passed away, to cover their western declivities with the habitations of civilized men.

Let the friends of Africa in England and America, and throughout Christendom, unite, *do justice to the motives of each other*, and, as far as practicable, co-operate in aiding her long exiled children to return to her bosom, to heal her wounds, raise her from disgrace, become the teachers of their brethren, and avail themselves of the resources of her soil, the commerce of her rivers, and the treasures of her mines, and the mariner, two centuries hence, as he guides his ship along her shore, will be cheered by the light of her cities, and everywhere see the evidences and hear the sounds of a free, an enlightened, and a happy people.

Pardon me for having extended to such a length these remarks; I might say much more; I could not well have said less.

I have the honor to be, sir,
with profound respect,
your friend and servant,

SIR T. F. BUXTON. R. R. GURLEY.

Anxious to obtain, without delay, an interview with the General Committee of the African Civilization Society, I repeatedly expressed my desire to the Secretary of

that institution, but no opportunity occurred before the 3d of December. In the mean time, I sought, on all proper occasions, among those to whom I had been introduced, to dispel the errors which had been propagated by the enemies of the Colonization Society, and make evident, its philanthropic character. The meeting of the General Committee, on the 3d of December, was attended by Sir T. F. Buxton, (in the chair,) Dr. Lushington, Sir Robert Inglis, William Allen, Dr. Hodgkin, and many others of honorable fame in the cause of humanity.

To this Committee I stated, concisely, the object of my visit to London; spoke of the attachment felt by thousands in the United States to the scheme of their association; of the interest awakened by the able work on the slave trade, and its remedy; of the origin, principles and success of the American Colonization Society; described the condition and prospects of Liberia; urged very explicitly and decidedly the opinion, that in so far as the Civilization Society did not aim to found permanent colonies of free colored persons, destined ultimately to a distinct and independent political existence, its policy and efforts were defective; assured them of the wish of the great body of American Colonizationists to maintain kind relations and co-operation with the friends of Africa in England, in what they deemed, in its general nature, one and the same great work of beneficence; and, finally, submitted a definite proposition for the extension, prospectively, of the Liberian territory as far south and east as the river Assinee, or even to Axim. The following letter, addressed to the President of the Colonization Society and the Board of Directors, con-

tains a brief report of this interview with these gentlemen of the Civilization Society:

"LONDON, *December* 19, 1840.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor to transmit to yourself, and through you, to the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, several manuscript documents, and three or four printed letters, which will show in part, how I have been employed since the date of my last communication, directed to M. St. Clair Clarke, Esq., for the Society.

"In former letters, I have stated the causes which retarded, for many weeks after my arrival in England, operations to accomplish the objects of my mission; and at present I am able to report nothing of great importance, in addition to what will be found in the accompanying papers.

"It is matter of regret, that the erroneous impressions made upon the English mind by American Abolitionists, with zeal and activity for the last eight years, are deep and extensive, and that the recent visit of several leading individuals of this class, to this country, has contributed to strengthen prejudices against the people of the United States, on the subject of slavery and colonization, which the English public are well prepared and predisposed to entertain. I have neglected no means or opportunity of correcting the prevailing misrepresentations, and making known the humane and philanthropic character of our institution, and the remarkable success which has attended the establishment and progress of Liberia.

"In the benevolent intentions of the African Civilization Society my confidence is undiminished, yet you will

perceive, from my letters to Sir T. F. Buxton, that I apprehend their measures may prove defective. The spirit of commercial gain is so predominant in England, and the Government so intent upon opening new markets for English manufactures, that I fear the philanthropy of Mr. Buxton and his associates will hardly be able so to guard their plans and policy, as to secure the main advantages of both, to the population of Africa. In neglecting to devote their best energies to the plantation of permanent colonies of free men of color, which may exhibit models of good, social, and political institutions, I conceive they greatly err. But as their plans are obviously immature, and must remain so, until after the return of the expedition to the Niger, (which will sail in the course of a few weeks,) we may hope those who conduct them will become wiser by reflection and experience.

"On the 3d of this month I was introduced to the General Committee of the Civilization Society, and explained to them, in a brief speech, the principles and proceedings of the Colonization Society; stated the condition and encouraging prospects of Liberia, and expressed the friendly sentiments cherished by the President and Directors of that Society, towards the one which they represented; and which was viewed as kindred in its objects; aiming in like manner to overthrow the slave trade and extend the blessings of civilization and Christianity to the barbarous tribes and nations of Africa. I also made to them, in obedience to my instructions, a distinct proposition in regard to the extension of the Liberian territory.

"The meeting was large, comprising several distinguished persons, and gave me a respectful hearing, but,

as seemed apparent, rather from courtesy than a desire to enter into intimate relations of intercourse and friendship with the Colonization Society. The resolution* adopted the same day by this Committee is herewith transmitted. Dr. Lushington has since expressed a desire to understand our views and proceedings, and I hope soon to confer with him on the subject. I am convinced that a gradual but great change is taking place among the members of the Civilization Society in our favor, which their desire to retain the confidence and support of the Abolitionists renders them slow to acknowledge.

"I am under very great obligations to Dr. Thomas Hodgkin for the most earnest and unremitting exertions to advance the interests of the Society. My warmest gratitude is also due to Petty Vaughan, esquire, and to Messrs. A. and G. Ralston, for very obliging attentions. Our minister, Mr. Stevenson, has shown every disposition to promote the cause of the Society.

"Three small meetings have been held, to consider the measures best to be adopted, and particularly to decide whether efforts should be made to revive the British African Colonization Society. It has been judged expedient to postpone such efforts for the present, while the request has been made, that a pamphlet, containing a brief exposition of the design of the Society, and a view of

* I am unable to obtain a copy of this resolution from the office of the Colonization Society, where (though accompanying this letter,) I learn it has not been received. The purport of it was, "That the General Committee did not regard themselves as competent to consider questions relating to territorial limits and jurisdiction in Africa, such questions being left to the Governments of Great Britain and the United States; but that they trusted cordial feelings of regard would be cherished between the friends of Africa in both countries."

its operations in Africa, should be prepared forthwith for publication. This work I hope to accomplish before my return to the United States.

"Questions are frequently proposed in relation to the statistics of Liberia, which no returns that I have seen, enable me satisfactorily to answer. I trust the Directors may be able, through Governor Buchanan, to obtain statements, minute and accurate, in regard to the trade, agriculture, population, births, deaths, improvements, &c., of the colony, sufficient to satisfy the most curious inquiries.

"Some unpleasant feelings have been excited among English merchants engaged in the African trade, by the proceedings of Governor Buchanan against Capt. Herbert, and the matter has been brought to the consideration of Lord Palmerston. Dr. Hodgkin, who informs me that Capt. Herbert had made very favorable reports of the character and condition of Liberia, especially regrets that any causes of irritation should occur between the citizens of that colony, and Englishmen, prosecuting lawful commerce, on that coast. Of the case of Capt. Herbert I know nothing, except from a brief paragraph in the Repository, but feel assured that Governor Buchanan felt himself entirely justified in the course he adopted.

"We can hardly hope for any considerable amount of funds for the Colonization Society at present from the British public. This, though a subject of deep regret to me, is none of disappointment; a change of opinion must precede contributions; and though these may not now be secured, much may, I think be done, towards securing a greater object, the awakening of just and liberal sentiments in this country towards the Colonization Society, and the citizens generally of the United States.

"I have the honor to be, yours, &c., R. R. GURLEY.
Hon. H. Clay, *President of the A. C. Society*."

Subsequently to this interview with the General Committee of the Civilization Society, I obtained an introduction, through the obliging attentions of the American minister, Mr. Stevenson, to Lord John Russell, Secretary of State for the colonies. I also conferred freely with another individual of great influence in the affairs of the Government, as well as in the direction of the Civilization Society, whose name, for reasons which it is unnecessary to state, is omitted in the letter here submitted.

"LONDON, *January* 19, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR: Since I last had the honor of reporting to you, sir, as President, and through you to the Directors of the American Colonization Society, my proceedings in this country, I have been favored with interviews by Lord John Russell, her Majesty's Secretary of State for the colonies, and with ———.

"To Lord John Russell, I explained the benevolent views of the Colonization Society, and mentioned the instructions I had received, to endeavor through the African Civilization Society, to obtain the assent of the British Government, to a proposition, that the portion of the African coast south and east of Cape Palmas, as far as the river Assinee, should be prospectively within the limits of Liberia. I mentioned also, the success which had attended the exertions of the Colonization Society; the influence of the laws and citizens of Liberia in the suppression of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa; the prospect of the growth of this colony; and the injurious consequences to be apprehended from the establishment of communities by any other than Americans, in its immediate vicinity. I alluded to the deep interest felt in the United States in all measures adapted to overthrow the slave trade and civilize the population of Africa, and to the opinion en-

tertained there, that the Colonization and Civilization Societies were intended to operate to the same great and philanthropic end.

"I also ventured to suggest, that nothing, would, as a measure of force, tend so effectually to the extinction of the African commerce in slaves, as a union of all the maritime powers in the denunciation of it as *piracy*, by the universal law of nations.

"His lordship said, that my statements and observations should receive his consideration; that he was gratified to learn that so many benevolent individuals in America were disposed to co-operate in the civilization of Africa; and that the Colonization Society had his best wishes for its prosperity. He indicated that, in regard to the limits of territory in Africa, it would be desirable that some proposition should come from the United States Government, although I fully explained to him the fact, that with the Government, the Colonization Society had no direct connection. I should have stated, that his lordship perused your letter or commission with respectful attention.

"My conversation with ——— was more particular and protracted than with Lord John Russell. It will be recollected that this gentleman some years ago signed a protest against the Colonization Society, while for a long time he has been distinguished in the House of Commons, both for his efforts against the slave trade and in the cause of West Indian emancipation. He is an individual of extensive information, of enlightened views on most subjects, and of liberal and benevolent sentiments. I stated to him, the principles and policy of the Colonization Society, and the remarkable success which had attended its proceedings. He expressed a favorable opinion of Liberia, and like Sir T. F. Buxton could see

no objection to the Society, as its purpose is exhibited in its constitution; but frankly said that he had disapproved of the institution, because he supposed it to rest upon the assumption that the colored race could not, in America, rise to equality with the whites, and therefore should be expatriated, and thus he thought the Society obstructed the social union of the two races and fostered an unjustifiable spirit of *caste*. He spoke much of the effect of emancipation in the West Indies, as seen in the decay of this spirit, and of the prospect of an amalgamation of the white and colored races in those Islands. I of course sought to correct his errors, and to explain the actual condition and prospects of the colored race in the United States, and to show that all attempts by foreign or exclusively northern societies, (if indeed, efforts any where and in any way were otherwise,) to produce a social and political union on equal terms between the two races, were, at present, highly injurious, and dangerous to the peace and interests of all classes in our southern States.

"——— said, that although he was a member of the Anti-Slavery Societies of this kingdom, he must not be held responsible for all their proceedings, and that certainly he did not approve of the interference or intermeddling of English philanthropists with the domestic or political affairs of the Americans. He appeared also to dissent from the doctrines of a large portion of the immediate abolitionists, while he urged, (and I thought with some reason,) the duty of the southern States of America to commence efforts in the way of ameliorating the condition and improving the minds of the colored population within their limits.

"He told me, (which was gratifying and occasioned some surprize, as it had not been stated by Sir T. F. Buxton,) that the English Government had consented with

great reluctance to acquire any, even a temporary jurisdiction over the territory in Africa, that the expedition fitted out at an expense of £61,000, and soon to sail for the Niger, and other measures of the Government, which might follow it, were temporary only and designed to prepare the way for settlements of colored men from various parts of the world, who were to be invited and encouraged to establish independent communities for agricultural, commercial and other purposes, and for the civilization of Africa. ——— is a leading member of the African Civilization Society, and if his opinions are correct, the policy and objects of that Society cannot fail to prove identical with that of the Colonization Society. It is very possible, however, that the views and plans both of the British Government and of the Civilization Society, are as yet, immature, and liable to be varied by future circumstances.

"I trust that the ideas of ——— may prevail, and that all efforts in this country for the good of Africa, will finally be concentrated on the scheme of founding, in that land, communities or states of free men of color, which may afford models of good political and social institutions, and raise the barbarians of that country to an equal share with themselves in the blessings of knowledge, liberty and Christianity.

"I should add, that on the subject of the territory of Liberia, ——— is of opinion, that neither the Government nor people of England will be disposed to plant settlements which may interfere with its growth or prosperity. He seemed a little startled at the fact, that the country of the Kroo people is within the limits of the Liberian territory; spoke of them as a people of very interesting character, and of great importance to any Government or society that might seek to civilize Africa.

"I briefly alluded to the possible dangers to which Liberia might be exposed in case of war, and the importance of its being regarded as neutral in any such contest. He remarked, that he did not believe it would be disturbed by England, and that he would cheerfully exert his influence to secure the recognition of its neutral rights by this and other Powers.

"I respectfully submit to you, sir, and the Directors of the Society, whether endeavors should not be made, to secure authority and aid from Congress, to fit out a small expedition to explore certain portions of the African coast, and also, whether efforts should not be renewed in our national legislature; to obtain the consent of all Christian nations to stigmatize the African slave trade as *piracy* by universal national law?

"I have the honor to be,

"Dear sir, with perfect respect,

"Your friend and servant.

"R. R. GURLEY.

"Hon. Henry Clay."

All the communications of the writer except this last, had been transmitted in time to reach Washington before the annual meeting of the Directors. No instructions from them arrived; and it naturally occurred to him, that they had judged best to commit to his discretion the question of deciding on the time and means for effecting the general purposes of his commission; and yet, it seemed but reasonable that in such case, he should have been informed of their opinion.

It was clear, that to enlighten and change the public mind, very much darkened and perverted by the opponents of the Colonization Society, truth must find access

to the people, either through oral or printed discourse. From what I soon discovered of the candour and good sense of the educated classes in England, my conviction was entire, that full explanations and honest statements, would secure a favorable verdict in behalf of the sentiments of the Colonization Society, and the policy developed in the settlements of Liberia. But preparations for public meetings are attended with great expense in England; and this expense, in regard to an unpopular cause, is necessarily thrown upon its advocates, and the writer was unsupplied with resources for opening halls and chapels for the discussion and defence of the scheme which he had been delegated to represent and promote.

Near the close of January, George Catlin, Esq., in the most friendly and generous manner, proposed that I should occupy Egyptian Hall, (then under his control,) and I announced the purpose of delivering two lectures on the principles, policy, and success of the American Colonization Society. The following very brief and imperfect notice of these lectures and several subsequent meetings, appeared in the London Sun, of February 8th:

"Agreeably to public notice, the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, addressed an audience on two successive evenings (Thursday and Friday) last week in Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, explaining the views and enlarged benevolence of this Society, towards all classes of the colored race, in America and Africa, and replying to various objections urged against it. At the close of the second lecture, Mr. Gurley was invited by one of his auditors, Mr. John Scoble, of the Anti-Slavery Society to enter on a debate with him. The challenge was readily accepted for Monday evening,

when a highly interesting discussion took place, which was adjourned to Wednesday, Daniel Lister, Esq., presiding on both occasions. At the close of Mr. Gurley's reply, to Mr. Scoble's first speech on Wednesday, the latter, offended at the course of the Chairman, (which was sustained by the meeting,) suddenly left the platform. Mr. Gurley was requested to proceed in his statements. At the conclusion of his remarks, on the motion of Dr. Costello, seconded by A. B. Wright, Esq., the meeting expressed their thanks to Mr. Gurley for the valuable facts and views, he had so eloquently submitted to their consideration, and adjourned till Friday evening. At this third meeting, Mr. Lister having been again called to the chair, Dr. Costello reviewed, in a brief but pertinent and able manner, the course of the several meetings. The Chairman also made a few observations, expressive of his regret that any thing should have occurred, which should have been deemed by Mr. Scoble, cause sufficient, to render his retreat necessary. Mr. Gurley then, at the request of the meeting, submitted various facts and documents vindicating the American Colonization Society and the colony of Liberia from objections and reproach, and showing its tendency to suppress the African slave trade, and introduce civilization and Christianity among the native population. Elliott Cresson, Esq., followed Mr. Gurley with many facts and statements in corroboration of his views and of the beneficent policy of the Society.

"Lieutenant Colonel H. Dundas Campbell, late Governor of Sierra Leone, then rose and expressed, in a very earnest and emphatic manner, his regard for the American Colonization Society, and from his personal observations on the coast of Africa, and reports from English naval officers who had visited Liberia, his conviction of

the good character of the people of that colony, and of the great benefits to be anticipated from the multiplication of similar establishments. Colonel Campbell then moved a resolution, 'That the American Colonization Society is deserving of high approbation, and that this Society and the colony of Liberia are contributing essentially to the suppression of the African slave trade and the civilization of Africa.'

"Mr. Guest, in seconding the motion, suggested by way of amendment, 'That in the lectures and debates to which the meeting had listened for several evenings, Mr. Gurley had triumphantly vindicated the American Colonization Society from all reproach, and established its character as a pure and benevolent institution.'

"Petty Vaughan, Esq., proposed to add, 'That the American Colonization Society is worthy of the approbation and support of English philanthropy.'" The original resolution of Colonel Campbell, and the amendments, were then *unanimously* adopted. A committee was appointed, and a subscription opened, (on motion of Dr. Hodgkin,) to carry forward these objects. Thanks having been voted to the Chairman for his able services, the meeting was adjourned till Wednesday, 10th instant, at eight o'clock, in the same place.

"At a subsequent meeting, which was addressed by several gentlemen, a deep interest was expressed in the plan and success of the American Colonization Society; the question in regard to a petition to Parliament, calling for an examination into the condition and prospects of the settlements in Africa, particularly Liberia, was considered, and the proposal for such a petition approved. The following resolution was then adopted:

"'*Resolved*, That a committee, consisting of Dr.

Hodgkin, Lieutenant Colonel H. D. Campbell, A. B. Wright, Esq., Dr. Costello, Mr. Fairburn, Mr. Guest, Mr. Laird, Mr. P. Vaughan, D. Lister, Esq., and Mr. G. Ralston, be appointed, with power to add to their number, for the purpose of properly framing the petition, and of waiting on Lord John Russell, with a request that he would present it, and, generally, to carry out the objects of this meeting.'"

A more extended report of the proceedings of these meetings was published in the London Morning Chronicle of the 19th of February, from which I present a few extracts, having taken the liberty to correct two or three errors.

Says the Chronicle, "These meetings commenced on the 28th and 29th of January, when Mr. Gurley proceeded to explain his views, on each occasion, to a highly respectable meeting, over which D. Lister, Esq., presided, and which was attended, among other gentlemen, by Lieutenant Colonel H. Dundas Campbell, (late Governor of Sierra Leone,) Dr. Hodgkin, Dr. Costello, Elliott Cresson, Esq., A. B. Wright, Esq., Petty Vaughan, Esq., F. T. Texugo, Esq., (a Portuguese,) &c., &c. There were also many ladies present. During the second meeting, Mr. John Scoble, an accredited agent of the Anti-slavery Society, took exception at some of the statements of the Rev. Mr. Gurley, and challenged him to a public discussion. The challenge was accepted, and the debate commenced on the Monday following, (February 1st,) Mr. Lister again presiding, and the meeting being attended as before. Mr. Scoble's main argument—one supported, we believe, by very many persons anxious for the total and immediate extinction of slavery—was, that the scheme of the American Society, though

very good in itself, was in fact calculated to prolong the evil, by turning the public attention away from the horrors of slavery, and exciting their hopes of its gradual extinction by means of African colonization. Mr. Gurley's speeches consisted of a vindication of the principles and practice of the Society: their general effect, as far as the exposition of interesting facts goes, is given below in a report of a speech delivered on a subsequent evening. This meeting was adjourned to the 3d, when the debate was renewed; but at the close, Mr. Scoble, offended at the course of the Chairman, (which the meeting afterwards sustained,) left the platform without appointing a day for the continuation of the discussion. The meeting, however, agreed to resolutions exonerating the American Colonization Society from the charge of being patrons, directly or indirectly, of slavery, and declaring the Society deserving of high approbation, as contributing, together with the colony of Liberia, essentially to the suppression of the African slave trade and the civilization of Africa."

"At one of these meetings, Lieutenant Colonel Campbell said that, during the three years he had been Governor of Sierra Leone, he had had frequent opportunities of observing persons from the colony of Liberia, and he had always found them very superior in intellect, besides being excellent mechanics, and generally very moral and well conducted. In fact, he would candidly say that no persons in his own colony equalled them. From his knowledge of the interior of Africa, he took upon himself to say, that it was by the establishment of such colonies as Liberia that civilization would be effected there. It was useless to send out Europeans to that coast; the climate was too prejudicial to them. It was

the colored man only that was fit for those regions. The great calumny, that the black man was incapable of intellectual eminence, was practically refuted both at Sierra Leone and at Liberia. Many of the pilots at Sierra Leone were likewise preachers, and he could truly say, that one of the best sermons he had ever heard was preached by a black man, on the occasion of his (Governor Campbell's) departure from the colony. He trusted that a society, similar to the American Society, would be established in England.

"On Wednesday, the 10th, an adjourned meeting was held, when circumstances prevented Mr. Lister from presiding, and Dr. Costello took the chair.

"The Rev. R. R. Gurley communicated some interesting facts to the meeting connected with his own proceedings on behalf of the Society in this country. Prior to doing so, however, he deprecated, in eloquent and feeling language, the possibility of a recent misunderstanding between the United States and this country, leading to the horrors of war. Nothing would give him greater sorrow, or more paralyze his strength in the great cause of African freedom than the bare prospect of a war between that country in which his chief affections lay, and this, the mother country, to which she owed her ancient associations, her literature, her institutions, and no small part of her renown. Indeed, it was impossible for Christians to entertain without horror, the idea, that America and England — countries of common origin, language, liberty, literature, and religion — should leap into a war for light and trivial causes, and he could hardly consider any conduct more criminal, than that of those, who sought to light up the flame of discord in the public mind, and excite the passions and jealousies of the two nations,

when the question was really one for the tribunal of reason and justice [hear, hear, hear]. He [Mr. Gurley] had been asked since his arrival in England, what was the origin of this Society. His answer was, that the precise origin could not be distinctly stated, as the project for colonizing Africa with free people of color, by their own consent, had been conceived in different parts of the United States, at about the same period of time. Granville Sharpe and Dr. Fothergill, in England, had founded Sierra Leone. Dr. Hopkins and Capt. Cuffee, of New England, had favored the colonization scheme long before the origin of the Colonization Society. In 1818, the subject received attention both in the New England States and from the Legislature of the State of Virginia; but the first mover for its formation was the venerable Dr. Finley, of New Jersey, who visited the city of Washington, consulted a number of distinguished and philanthropic men,* and held meetings, at which the foundations of the Society were laid. So much for the origin of the Society. Since its establishment, large sums had been voluntarily subscribed, and, adding the value of slaves emancipated in various parts of the Union, the amount given to the cause might be about $1,400,000. The Society had received the support of a large body of the most intelligent statesmen of America, and of the wisest and best men throughout the United States; and he did not believe that there was an American present who would doubt the truth of his statement, that seven-tenths of the wise and good throughout the twenty-six States,

* Among whom were Hon. C. F. Mercer, F. S. Key, Esq., Elias B. Caldwell, Esq., (who had for some time contemplated something of the kind,) Dr. William Thornton, Mr. Clay, Chief Justice Marshal, Mr. Webster, and others.

gave their support to this institution, as the best which human wisdom could devise, for securing the freedom and elevating the character of the colored race. Mr. Gurley proceeded to say, that the Society had been for nearly twenty years in existence, when they observed that the plan of Sir Thomas F. Buxton for colonizing Africa nearly resembled their own, and they accordingly sent him (Mr. Gurley) over to communicate with the English Society; fearing also, that unless some arrangements were made between them, the territory of the two colonies might become the subject of dispute. He had an interview with the committee, when he was informed that they regarded it as a question to be settled by the Governments of the two countries. On a subsequent interview with Lord John Russell, that noble lord, after expressing his full concurrence in the objects of the Society, and, wishing it all prosperity, promised to take the subject of the respective jurisdictions of the two colonies under his consideration. He afterwards had an interview with Dr. Lushington, a distinguished member of the British Civilization Society. There was nothing to prevent a union between the two Societies, seeing that their ultimate objects were the same.

"In answer to questions from a gentleman in the body of the meeting,

"Mr. Gurley said, that he did not conceive any question could arise between the British Government and the United States as to dominion over the colony. The Society had repeatedly sent in memorials to Congress for a charter, but none had been granted. It had obtained a charter however from the State of Maryland. Congress had done but little for them except by selecting Liberia as a depot for re-captured Africans. This, though it had proved of

much service to the colony, did not, he apprehended, involve the question of right.

"After eloquent speeches from Mr. Texugo and Col. Campbell,

"Dr. Hodgkin addressed the meeting in an able speech, in which he combated the argument against this scheme of colonization. The learned gentleman, who is a member of the Society of Friends, concluded by reading a letter from Mr. Buchanan, Governor of Liberia, bearing strong testimony to the prosperity and usefulness of the colony.

"A petition to the House of Commons was then suggested; but, in consequence of the lateness of the hour, the discussion was adjourned until the meeting of the Society, on Wednesday evening next, at eight o'clock."

Considering the war which for many years had been waged in England against the American Colonization Society, the judgment of a very intelligent English audience pronounced in its favor, after six evenings of discussion and debate, was not less gratifying than unexpected. I was convinced, that could the facts and merits of the case be fully and fairly exhibited to the people of that kingdom, the opinion of the great majority would also have been pronounced in its favor. At the last meeting, an enthusiastic desire was expressed by several gentlemen, that an adjournment should take place to Exeter Hall, as the central and ample and usual place for delivering the messages and sounding forth the doctrines of humanity to the vast community of enlightened minds in Great Britain. But I had been left without means of following up the auspicious movements at Egyptian Hall, and of opening a way for a cause which I thought it both

a privilege and honor to plead, to the reason, conscience, and affections of that reflecting and magnanimous nation.

Soon after the lectures and debate in Egyptian Hall, the writer learned incidentally, from an American friend then in London, that he was no longer officially connected with the Colonization Society. He observed, also, some time afterwards, in a copy of the annual report of the Society, that the late lamented Dr. John Breckenridge had been appointed to the office of Secretary, and in the report of the Executive Committee, discovered the following notice of his mission:

"It was deemed important to send an agent to England, for the purpose of obtaining assurances from the British African societies and trading companies, that they would not encroach on the territory embraced within the present limits of Liberia.

"Mr. Gurley was selected by your board for the performance of this duty. In carrying out this appointment, the Executive Committee instructed him to confine himself to collecting information in regard to the British policy in Africa, to inducing them to abstain from encroaching on the territory adjacent to our settlements, and diffusing information in regard to the true character, operations, and practical results of the American Colonization Society. Before the expiration of the time which your board allowed Mr Gurley for his visit, he asked the committee to extend it. This they did not feel authorized to do. Mr. Gurley, however, has not returned to this country, nor has he informed us how far he has succeeded in accomplishing the object of his visit."

His astonishment at this passage will not be thought surprising, when it is seen that he communicated prompt-

ly to the Committee and Directors, full reports of his proceedings; that no limit to the term of his mission was mentioned in the resolutions of his appointment; that he had solicited no extension of time, but merely stated his opinion, that, if great results were expected, the stay of an agent must be prolonged for several months, if not for a year; and, finally, that his letters (the last excepted) had all been transmitted in season for their arrival on or before the anniversary of the Society. As he could not find among his papers a copy of the resolutions authorizing the mission, (the sum of which was embodied in his commission,) the words "time allowed by your Board," used by the Committee, made him for a moment half distrust his memory, and he wrote forthwith to the Secretary of the Society at Washington, requesting that a copy of these resolutions might be sent to the Commercial Advertiser for publication, in connection with a letter correcting the errors in the Committee's statement. Far greater was his astonishment on the receipt of the paper containing this letter, (of April 1st,) to find the following appended to the resolutions of the Directors:

"Extract from minutes of the Board of Dec., 1840:

"Mr. Phelps stated that the appointment of Mr. Gurley to go on a mission to England, was expressly limited to four months; that this limitation formed a part of the authority for his mission; and therefore moved that the minutes be amended so as to make them conform to the fact.

"The motion was agreed to *nem con.*, and the minutes were ordered to be amended accordingly."

Observe, *First.* This motion of Mr. Phelps was made six months, wanting three days, after the adoption of the resolutions which it was designed to amend.

Second. At the passage of the original resolutions, there were present *seven* Directors entitled to vote, and at the passage of the amendment, *five;* but *four* of those present at the adoption of the former, were absent when the amendment was adopted; and *two* who were absent in the former case, were present in the latter, *three* only having been present on both occasions.

Third. Hence it is evident, that *three* persons assume to decide that *seven*, about six months before, had failed to express their meaning in their resolutions, and proceed to amend such resolutions. This *ex post facto* correction by a minority of the acts of a majority, may sometimes serve purposes of convenience, never of justice or honor. In Parliamentary assemblies, "On information of a mis-entry or omission of an entry in a journal, a committee may be appointed to examine and rectify it, and report to the house;" and the rule of the Congress of the United States is, that even a motion for reconsideration must originate with one who voted with the majority, and within three days after the passage of the act or resolution referred to, in such motion.

Fourth. Notice of this amendment was never transmitted to me; nor was I honored with any communication relating to the proceedings of the annual meeting, or to any other subject, (as I have already stated,) from the Directors, after I left the country.

Thus in a foreign land, engaged in a great work, to which the writer had been delegated, was he suddenly and unexpectedly abandoned by those from whom he had received his commission, and cast off from an institution, to which, the ardent enthusiasm of his youth, and the best powers of his manhood, had been devoted; to which in the weakness and dawn of its being, he had consecrated

all his abilities and exertions; which he had advocated and defended in nearly every State and city of the Union; stood by in every hour of trial, and had the happiness to see rising, from what might be termed, little more than a seminal principle, to a strength and dignity sharing the confidence and commanding the respect of the nation. The effect upon himself gave him little disturbance. He feared nothing for his interest or reputation. But he was deeply mortified to find himself unsustained by those whose highest duty to a great cause was to have sustained him, at an hour when the light was breaking upon him, and every thing promised success. He abated nothing of heart or hope. He applied with new vigor to his task, regardless of what might be, in future, his official relations to the Society, provided only, he might effectually contribute to cement a more perfect union, and produce a friendly co-operation between the philanthropists of England and America in the African cause.

In reply to the Times, (a newspaper unfortunately of vast influence) which had published remarks impeaching the motives of the Colonization Society, and the character of Liberia, I addressed a letter to the editor, proving the opposition both of the Society and the colony to the slave trade, and that their tendency was, both in America and Africa, to benefit every class of the African race. This editor, regardless of courtesy, commented on this letter, but refused to publish it. The Morning Post readily inserted in its columns my original letter to the Times, also a reply to the comments of that journal. I venture to offer to the public, extracts from these letters, especially for the sake of the quotations from the writings of some of the founders of the American Colonization Society, which reveal the purity of their motives and the extent and comprehensiveness of their views.

"The late Judge Washington, the first President of the Society, in his address at its first anniversary, among other things, said, 'an effort has been made to prejudice the minds of the free people of color against this institution, which had its origin, it is believed, in an honest desire to promote their happiness. A suggestion has been made to them, which this Society disclaims by the terms of its constitution, that they are to be constrained to migrate to the country which may be selected for the seat of our colony. No suspicion can be more unfounded. It is sanctioned by no declarations or acts of this Society, from which alone our intentions can be candidly inferred.' He adds, 'The effect of this institution, if its prosperity shall equal our wishes, will be alike propitious to every interest of our domestic society; and should it lead, as we may fairly hope it will, to the slow but gradual abolition of slavery, it will wipe away from our political institutions the only blot which stains them, and in palliation of which we shall not be at liberty to plead the excuse of moral necessity until we shall have honestly exerted all the means we possess for its extinction.'

"In the appendix to the first annual report of the Society, will be found a letter from General Harper, in which he unfolds the humanity of the scheme, and its vast beneficence to America, to the free people of color, to the slaves, by opening the way and offering inducements to emancipation; to all civilized and commercial nations, in the resources it must develop and the enterprize it must awaken; and finally alludes to a higher good which he trusts will be accomplished.

"'The greatest benefit,' he observes, 'however, to be hoped for, from this enterprize, that which in contemplation most delights the philanthropic mind, still remains to be unfolded. It is the benefit to Africa herself, from this

return of her sons to her bosom, bearing with them arts, knowledge, and civilization, to which she has hitherto been a stranger. Cast your eyes on this vast continent. You see there innumerable tribes and nations of blacks, mild and humane in their dispositions, sufficiently intelligent, robust, active, and vigorous, not averse from labor or wholly ignorant of agriculture, and possessing some knowledge of the ruder arts, which minister to the first wants of civilized man. You see a soil generally fertile, a climate healthy for the natives, and a mighty river, which rolls its waters through vast regions, inhabited by these tribes, and seems destined by an all-wise and beneficent Providence one day to connect them with each other, and all of them with the rest of the world in the relations of commerce and friendly intercourse. What a field is here presented for the blessings of civilization and Christianity, which colonies of civilized blacks afford the best, and probably, the only means of introducing! These colonies, composed of blacks already instructed in the arts of civilized life and the truths of the Gospel, judiciously placed, well conducted, and constantly enlarged, will extend gradually into the interior, will form commercial and political connections with the native tribes in their vicinity, will incorporate many of the natives with the colonies, and in their turn make establishments and settlements among the natives, and thus diffuse all around the arts of civilization and the benefits of literary, moral, and religious instruction.'

"In this letter, written in 1817, before a solitary agent of the Society had explored the African coast, and long before the course of the Niger to its termination was discovered, General Harper urges that in the selection of a site for the proposed colony, regard should be had to

the 'facility of communication with the Niger, that river which seems destined to supply the link of connection between the interior of Africa and the civilized world;' and after tracing what he imagined might be the progress of civilization and commerce on the one side, up some Atlantic stream to near the head waters of the Niger, and on the other, should that river flow into the sea, up to its highest navigable point, he adds—'At last these two branches would meet, and unite in a commerce vast as the stream on which it would be borne, and as the continent it would civilize, enlighten, and adorn.'

"Can any honest and unprejudiced mind doubt that this publication of General Harper proves that, instead of 'the American Colonization Society and the American colony being simply devices of slave-masters to get rid of the free colored population,' the plan of the Society originally comprehended, in the wide circuit of its philanthropy and beneficence, the whole African race, and the moral and intellectual renovation of one quarter of the globe? In saying that the scheme of Sir T. F. Buxton, is in the main, but a republication of that of the American Colonization Society, I must not be considered as detracting from his merits. Probably he never saw, until recently, the early publications of the Colonization Society, and certainly, to win the approbation of the English Government to the scheme, and secure ample means for demonstrating its practicableness and wisdom, is in the highest degree meritorious. But who, knowing that this letter of General Harper was published in the first and *second* reports of the Colonization Society, as comprising the general views of the institution, will presume to deny to them an extended and dignified humanity?

"Having surveyed the grandeur of the project in its

remote results, General Harper adds—'Ages indeed may be required for the full attainment of these objects. Untoward events or unforseen difficulties may retard or defeat them; but the prospect, however remote or uncertain, is still animating, and the hope of success seems sufficient to stimulate us to the utmost exertion. How vast and sublime a career does this undertaking open to a generous ambition, aspiring to deathless fame by great and useful actions! Who can count the millions that in future times shall know and bless the names of those by whom this magnificent scheme of beneficence and philanthropy has been conceived and shall be carried into execution? Throughout the widely extended regions of middle and southern Africa, then filled with populous and polished nations, their memories shall be celebrated and their praises sung, when other states, and even the flourishing and vigorous nation to which they belong, now in its flower of youth, shall have run their round of rise, grandeur, and decay, and like the founders of Palmyra, Tyre, Babylon, Memphis, and Thebes, shall no longer be known except by vague reports, of their former greatness, or by some fragments of those works of art, the monuments of their taste,, their power, or their pride, which they may have left behind.'

"This may be thought the language of poetry; if you please, of rhapsody, but is wholly unlike that of men devising a scheme simply to get rid of the free blacks, in order to strengthen and perpetuate the system of slavery. And, surely, while I might fill your columns with opinions and sentiments equally benevolent and lofty, from the early reports and documents of the Colonization Society, no one acquainted with these will asperse this Society without exposing himself justly both to ridicule and indignation.

"In Liberia we see a small but prosperous community, or state, of enterprising men of color, mostly self-governed, with churches, schools, the press, and all the elements of a well ordered Christian society, binding to it in commerce and amity many barbarous tribes, and already extending over several hundred miles of coast the benignant influence of its manners, laws, and religion. In proof of the correctness of this statement, I enclose a letter from Capt. Stoll, of the Royal navy, to that excellent philanthropist, Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, which I trust you will do me the favor to publish, in connection with this communication.

"The world seldom witnesses a scheme, however wise and great, against which ingenious men may not discover plausible objection. But after reflection for many years on the subject, I am happy to avow the belief that no greater or holier undertaking ever summoned to its aid the philanthropy or Government of England, than that proposed by Sir T. F. Buxton; especially, if in its execution, reliance be mainly placed upon the establishment of communities of free persons of color, destined to an independent, social, and national existence, and which, by models of political wisdom, of just laws, of literary and other instructive institutions, and of a pure faith, shall tend to recover Africa from barbarism to civilization, liberty and Christianity."

Having adduced evidence not to be discredited or set aside by any ingenuity or perverseness, of the influence of the example, laws, and acts of Liberia, against the slave trade, in my letter to the Morning Post, I noticed briefly some objections to the Colonization Society, as urged by the *Times*, in the following terms:

"The gentlemen of the *Times* imagine that because by the constitution, the Society is limited to the coloni-

zation of the free, and may colonize in Africa, or elsewhere, the design of the Society is one of inhumanity to the slaves, and concerns Africa as little as any other quarter of the globe. But is there any one who does not discern the distinction between a *specific* and a *general* object, a *subordinate* and *ultimate* end? The specific object of the Bible Society is to circulate the Scriptures without note or comment; the general object, the temporal and spiritual good of men; the subordinate end, the diffusion of Divine knowledge; the ultimate one, the eternal salvation of mankind. It were as reasonable to say that the object of the Bible Society is simply to distribute so many printed sheets, as to say that the Colonization Society's object is simply the removal of the free colored people of the United States; as reasonable to interpret the design of the Bible Society to be the advancement of physical science no less than of moral truth, as to interpret that of the Colonization Society to be the benefit of other countries no less than Africa. And it is remarkable that the *Times*, to prove this Society a selfish device of southern slaveholders, quotes as the language of the first memorial of the Society to Congress, *what is not to be found in that memorial.*

"It would be easy to show that the fathers of the Colonization Society, before its origin, urged, as reasons for its formation, not only the benefits it would confer upon the free people of color and upon the slaves, but, above all, the mighty consequences of the scheme in the suppression of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa; that at the time of its formation, these reasons were earnestly and eloquently enforced by nearly every advocate of the plan. And what is the language of that first memorial of the American Colonization Society to Con-

gress, from which the *Times* quotes *words not to be discovered in the copy before me?*

"'Your memorialists beg leave, with all deference, to suggest, that the fairest and most inviting opportunities are now presented to the general Government for repairing a great evil in our social and political institutions, and at the same time for elevating, from a low and hopeless condition, a numerous and rapidly increasing race of men, who want nothing but a proper theatre to enter upon the pursuit of happiness and independence in the ordinary paths which a benign Providence has left open to the human race.' Again, in the same memorial, 'It may be reserved for our Government (the first to denounce an inhuman and abominable traffic, in the guilt and disgrace of which most of the civilized nations of the world were partakers) to become the honorable instrument, under divine Providence, of conferring a still higher blessing upon that large and interesting portion of mankind, benefitted by that deed of justice; by demonstrating that a race of men, composing numerous tribes, spread over a continent of vast and unexplored extent, fertility, and riches, unknown to the enlightened nations of antiquity, and who had yet made no progress in the refinements of civilization; for whom history has preserved no monuments of arts or arms, that even this hitherto ill-fated race may cherish the hope of beholding at least the orient star revealing the best and highest aims and attributes of man. Out of such materials to rear the glorious edifice of well ordered and polished society, on the deep and sure foundations of equal laws and diffusive education, would give a sufficient title to be enrolled among the illustrious benefactors of mankind, while it afforded a precious and consolatory evidence of the all prevailing power

of liberty, enlightened by knowledge and corrected by religion.' But I might quote volumes. The language of General Harper, in my letter to the *Times*, is pertinent and conclusive on the question of the enlarged philanthropy of the Colonization Society. Plainly, the editor of the *Times* knows little of the Colonization Society, and nothing, I apprehend, as he ought to know. Instead of this Society being sustained by the southern States, with a view to 'establish, build up, and confirm' slavery, as the *Times* alleges, the Colonization Society of Maryland has avowed its object to be the extirpation of slavery in that State, while the legislature have appropriated two hundred thousand dollars for its benefit; and from personal observation and inquiry in nearly all the southern States, I affirm, that the true friends of the slave population, those who desire their ultimate freedom and elevation, are friends of the Colonization Society, while all the advocates of perpetual slavery are its opponents. This mighty scheme of beneficence rests upon the general sound opinion of the American people, like their own union, assailed on the one side by the intolerant and despotic fierceness of northern abolitionism (many good mistaken men doubtless act under this banner,) and, on the other, by those who would perpetuate what they deem the necessary, patriarchal, apostolic institution of slavery. The union of the friends of unlimited slavery and the advocates of immediate unconditional and universal emancipation in America, against the sober, practical, and most benevolent scheme of colonization, resembles the coalition of the Chartists and the *Times* to overthrow the African Civilization Sociey. If the arguments of the Chartists be sound, that all evils must be remedied at home before any be attempted for those abroad, as urged against the Civiliza-

Society, that of the *Times* against the Colonization Society, grounded upon the existence of the slave trade between the southern States, may have some plausibility. But the argument is as valid against Bible and Missionary Societies in England or America, as against either the Civilization or Colonization Societies. The moral influence of the scheme of colonization is operating in all directions for the good of the colored race, and thus to remedy every evil to which any portion of that race in America or Africa is at present subjected.

"I have much confidence in the sober, matured judgment of the people of England. On the subject of the Colonization Society and American slavery, they are to a great extent in error, but this will be dispelled by reason, truth and time."

The London Patriot, conducted by Josiah Condar, Esq., is patronized generally by the Congregationalists of England, as a weekly journal of a highly moral and religious character. The letter addressed to me by Sir Thomas F. Buxton was, nearly at the time I was favored with an introduction to the General Committee of the African Civilization Society, and after the reply to it had been placed in the hands of its author, inserted separately from the other portions of the correspondence, in this paper; and the editor took occasion to express his hostility to the Colonization Society. A brief answer was admitted into the Patriot, and the charges against the Society renewed. But the editor declined to do me the justice of publishing the entire correspondence with Mr. Buxton, or even to insert the following letter, while the Morning Post, with a liberality to which I had previously been indebted, promptly placed in its columns.

"*To the Editor of the London Patriot.*

"SIR: I thank you for the publication of my brief letter on the Colonization and Civilization Societies in your paper of the 10th instant. More liberal than the *Times*, which published comments on a communication it suppressed, you have given the text and commentary together; yet, like that, you resolve to withhold from your readers any refutation, should such appear, of your errors in fact and in argument. But, sir, the *Patriot* and the *Times* together cannot hide the light of truth more than that of the sun from the world. It will break out on the subject of the Colonization Society and Liberia, over this kingdom as day upon night, described incomparably by Shakspeare, and which is strikingly emblematic of the changes to be produced by colonization in the intellectual and moral condition of Africa:

> "'When the searching eye of Heaven is hid
> Behind the globe, and lights the lower world,
> Then thieves and robbers range abroad unseen,
> In murders and in outrage bloody here;
> But when from under this terrestrial ball
> He fires the proud tops of the eastern pines,
> And darts his light through every guilty hole,
> Then murders, treasons, and detested sins,
> The cloak of night being pluck'd from off their backs,
> Stand bare and naked, trembling at themselves.'

"I apprehend it may, then, be evident, that Christian men in England have cherished prejudices against their American brethren, quite as inexcusable as any prejudice against color — that they have misrepresented facts and arguments for what they deemed righteousness' sake, and bound down character and reputation upon the iron bed of their own imagined infallible opinion, to try and torture, to acquit or condemn, as they find the subject of

their inquisition to agree with or differ from their dogmas touching the best means of advancing the freedom and happiness of the colored race. On this subject, so complex, so vast, so difficult, it will be seen, I think, that their conduct is sanctioned neither by sound philosophy nor the genius of Christianity; that they set aside the art of persuasion, and discard alike apostolic example and express Divine precepts. Truth forbid that I should palliate the least injustice, or shield from deserved infamy a single moral wrong!—that I should check the influences of knowledge or the progress of liberty!—that I should impede or limit the elevation and happiness and usefulness of the colored race! It is because I would aid, and most rapidly and effectually promote, the emancipation and improvement of this race throughout America and the world, that I give all possible support to the American Colonization Society.

"In the *Patriot* of the 3d instant, you observe, 'The American Colonization Society not only does not aim at even checking the slave trade in Africa, but it protects the internal slave trade of the States, which is independent of the import trade, and might continue to exist in all its enormity if the African coast were studded with free black colonies. The two Societies [the Civilization and Colonization] have, as Sir T. Fowell Buxton shows, so little in common, even in their ostensible object, that no greater injustice can be done to the supporters of the one than to hold them responsible for favoring the very opposite designs of the other.'

"Sir, it would be difficult for human ingenuity to frame two sentences, comprising, in the same space, more error and injustice than these. The charges contained in them, it occurred to me, might have been inconsiderately

made. I pointed to my letters in the *Morning Post* of the 2d instant, as demonstrating the falsehood of these charges, and requested you to publish them. You decline, and give us the following paragraph:

"'Our readers will judge for themselves whether Sir T. Fowell Buxton is right in thinking and saying that the proposed objects of the two Societies are '*not* the same,' or Mr. Gurley, who maintains that they are. We wish to give no further offence to the reverend representative of the American Society; but we cannot suppress our astonishment at his persisting in the assertion, that 'the *great object*' of the American Colonization Society is the civilization of Africa! How benevolent soever the motives of its originators, it is notorious that its great object was to promote 'a *voluntary separation of the colored from the white race*,' as being, 'in reason and the public judgment, desirable on general principles of benevolence.' The motive for its formation was the fact, 'that the two hundred thousand colored persons scattered throughout the Union, and legally free, enjoyed few of the advantages of freedom;' coupled with the consideration, 'that there were powerful causes operating to frustrate all efforts to elevate very considerably men of color' in the United States.—(*Gurley's Life of Ashmun*, page 111.) A society that should have been formed by the Jamaica planters to promote the expatriation of all free persons of color born in that island, to Sierra Leone, would have presented a precise counterpart to the colonization scheme of the Virginian slave-holders. Mr. Gurley calls upon us to prove that the American Colonization Society protects the internal slave trade. Why does he ask for proof? He knows that some leading members of the American Colonization Society are both

slave-holders and slave-sellers, and that they resist the abolition even of the Washington slave market. What inconsistency is there in a society's affecting to promote the abolition of the African slave trade, while it puts not forth the feeblest effort—nay, does not so much as protest against the aggravated enormity of the home slave trade? With Liberia, again we say, we have nothing to do in this question, which relates to the objects and motives of the American colonizationists. With all possible respect for the high character of Mr. Gurley, whom we can readily believe to be sincere in his wishes to promote the interests of the African race, though too much after the American fashion, we must assure him that, as regards the Society he represents, he will take nothing by his mission.—Ed.'

"Astonishment is often mutual. Yours at my 'persisting in the assertion that the great object of the Colonization Society is the civilization of Africa,' cannot exceed *mine*, that these sentences are given in justification of the charges made by you against the Colonization Society. How stand the questions between us?

"Your first charge was, that the American Colonization Society 'does not even aim to suppress the slave trade in Africa;' and when I show, as I have done in the letters to which I have referred you, and as I might do, more extensively by a volume of evidence from the early recorded publications and proceedings of that Society, that the overthrow of this traffic was a prominent object of its founders, and has been a cherished purpose of all its friends, from its very origin; that Liberia, planted by the Society, and embodying in its laws the views of its Directors on this subject, condemns any one of its citizens, who may engage in this trade, to the

penalty of death; that by force of arms it has broken up many slave factories, releasing numerous victims of this cruel commerce from their chains, and admitting them as freemen to an asylum within its limits; that by concurrent recent testimony from the most authentic sources, English as well as American, the influence of this colony is powerful and extensive for the suppression of this traffic; that more than thirty native chiefs have, by treaties, consented to abolish it; what is your reply? 'With Liberia we have nothing to do in this question, which relates to the objects and motives of the American colonizationists.' And pray, sir, will you be so good as to inform me how you will ascertain the objects and motives of American colonizationists, except by their declarations and actions? By their consistency? This is, indeed, a jewel; but if honesty and sincerity in *any one case* is to be admitted only where there is consistency in *every case*, will you show me the evidence that these virtues have any existence in the world? Will you enable me to discover them among the Abolitionists of England? The Colonization Society declares that one of its chief objects is to suppress the African slave trade. Through its colony it is actually suppressing it, and yet, with these facts proved before your eyes, you deny that it even aims at checking this traffic, because, as you imagine, it makes no effort against the internal slave trade in the United States. This is much like denying that a train of cars in full motion moves at all, because, in your judgment, it might as well move in another direction.

"It must be presumed that you, sir, and many other learned gentlemen in England, are uninformed of the unremitting and consistent energy with which the Colonization Society, from its commencement, has prosecuted

measures, in America as well as in Africa, for the destruction of the African slave trade. The Directors of this Society, in their memorial, addressed to the Congress of the United States, in 1820, use the following language:

"'When, therefore, the object of the Colonization Society is viewed, in connection with that entire suppression of the slave trade, which your memorialists trust is resolved shall be effected, its importance becomes obvious and extreme. The beneficial consequences resulting from success in such a measure, it is impossible to calculate. To the general cause of humanity it will afford the most rich and noble contribution; and for the nation that regards that cause, that employs its power in its behalf, it cannot fail to procure a proportionate reward. It is by such a course that a nation ensures to itself the protection and favor of the Governor of the world.'

"The memorial from which these sentences are extracted, was referred to a committee of Congress, who, in their able report thereon, say—

"'Your memorialists are solemnly enjoined by the peculiar object of their trust, and invited by the suggestions of the memorialists, to inquire into the defects of the existing laws against the African slave trade. So long as it is in the power of the United States to provide additional restraints upon this odious traffic, they cannot be withheld consistently with the justice and honor of the nation.'

"This committee, after depicting the horrors of the trade, and declaring that 'this crime, considered in its remote, as well as proximate consequences, is the very darkest in the whole catalogue of human iniquities,' and that its authors should be considered as *hostes humani*

generis, brought in a bill, which, by the noble exertions of General C. F. Mercer, one of the earliest and ablest friends and Vice Presidents of the Society, passed forthwith into a law, stigmatizing the African slave trade as piracy, and subjecting any citizen or person of the United States who should engage in it, *upon conviction thereof, to the punishment of death.*

"'May it not be believed (say the committee who reported this bill) that when the whole civilized world shall have denounced the slave trade as *piracy*, it will become as unfrequent as any other species of that offence against the law of nations.' Thus the Government of the United States, the *first* to prohibit the slave trade, through the influence of the Colonization Society, became the *first* to make it *piracy;* an example already imitated by some other powers, and the universal imitation of which would be, of all measures of force, the most effectual for the extinction of this atrocious commerce; and yet, sir, you assert that 'the American Colonization Society does not even aim to suppress the slave trade in Africa!'

"Your next charge was, that the Colonization Society 'protects the internal slave trade, which is independent of the import trade, and might continue to exist in all its enormity if the African coast were studded with free black colonies. I avowed my utter ignorance of any grounds for this charge, and requested proof? What is your reply? 'Why does he (Mr. Gurley) ask for proof? He knows that some leading members of the American Colonization Society are both slave holders and slave sellers, and that they resist the abolition of the Washington slave market. What inconsistency is there in a society's affecting to promote the abolition of the African

slave trade, while it puts not forth the feeblest effort, nay, does not so much as protest against the aggravated enormity of the home slave trade?'

"You, sir, will not presume to assert that there is any thing in the constitution of the Society, which declares the 'exclusive object' of the institution 'to be, to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in the United States, in Africa, or elsewhere,' protective of the internal slave trade in those States. But the American Colonization Society is a national association, and its members and Directors may be citizens of slave-holding or of non-slave-holding States. Therefore it protects the internal slave trade. By the same logic you must maintain that the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, the American Home Missionary Society, the American Temperance Society, the American Sunday School Union, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; in fine that each and all of the national benevolent institutions of the United States (for members of all these may be either from slave-holding or non-slave-holding States,) protect the internal slave trade of those States. Do you hold that these institutions *protect* the slave trade in the United States? But among leading members of the Colonization Society are slave-holders and slave-sellers, (*if any* of the latter, surely very few,) and those who resist the abolition of what you term the Washington slave market. Of the institutions just named, the same fact may be asserted. The Colonization Society 'does not so much as protest against the aggravated enormity of the home slave trade.' I have heard of no protest against this trade from the associa-

tions to which I have alluded. Do you, sir, therefore maintain that every national benevolent institution in the United States *protects* the internal slave trade?

"I have heard of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of a British Society to promote the abolition of slavery throughout the world. And I have heard of evils, both moral and political, under the far-extended sceptre of British authority, of oppression in her colonies; of intolerable grievances in her eastern dominions, where 100,000,000 bow their necks to the yoke of arbitrary power; of the cries of her poor for bread at the very gates of her palaces; of wretched females, not in hundreds but in thousands, wandering nightly through the streets of this metropolis to gain a scanty subsistence at the expense of health and virtue; and I have not felt at liberty to denounce the British and Foreign Bible Society, or the British Anti-slavery Society, because they are not protesting against all these and other enormities. I have presumed that the Bible Society was sufficiently occupied in distributing the pure word of God without note or comment, and that the Anti-slavery Society would readily exhaust all its spare leisure and strength in vilifying the Colonization Society, and those inconsistent, tyrannical, infamous slave-holding Christians and Republicans of America. The disposition to detect the mote in a brother's eye, while a beam is in our own, was not limited to the times of our Saviour.

"The American Colonization Society, instead of protecting the internal slave trade, is operating extensively in favor of emancipation, and thus to the extinction of that traffic. This trade is protected by the laws of those States, where slavery exists, as a necessary incident of that system—a system urged, shall I not say forced, upon

the people of those States by the commercial avarice of England, in the days of their colonial dependence, against earnest remonstrances addressed to the Parliament and the throne. It has grown with their growth, strengthened with their strength, and become intertwined and commingled with the habits, interests, and, indeed, with the whole constitution of society. It gave rise to the most dangerous and difficult questions connected with the formation of the Federal constitution. That constitution never could have been adopted except with general consent that slavery should be left where it was found, under the control of the States, in their individual capacity, where it had been established. Emancipation, therefore, can never be effected, the internal slave trade never be suppressed, but by the *will* and *consent* of the slave-holding States. For the great evil of slavery, the benevolence of the good, and the wisdom of the wise, in the south as in the north, have long anxiously sought a remedy.

"The American Colonization Society arose from the combined wisdom of benevolent men from the north and south, intent to promote the best interests of the colored race. As, sir, in your astonishment that I should persist in the assertion that *the great object* of the American Colonization Society is the civilization of Africa, you have glanced into my 'Life of Ashmun,' to prove by *half a sentence* that the *great object* was other than this, and by *one whole sentence and part of another*, what *motive* impelled to the formation of the Society, I must beg your and the public attention to the entire paragraph in that work from which you have made extracts, marking those extracts, that you may have all the benefit to which, from these citations, you may be entitled: —

"'The American Colonization Society was founded in Washington city in December, 1816. The patriotic and pious from various parts of the country united in its organization. They could not close their eyes upon the following facts: —

"'1. That the slavery of two millions of colored persons in the southern portion of this Union, was under the exclusive control and legislation of the slave-holding States, each having the sole right of regulating it within its own limits.

"'2. *That the two hundred thousand colored persons scattered throughout the Union, and legally free, enjoyed few of the advantages of freedom.*

"'3. *That there were powerful causes operating to frustrate all efforts to elevate very considerably, men of color* in this country, which could not exist, to prevent their elevation, in a separate community from the whites.

"'4. That the *voluntary separation of the colored from the white race was in reason, and the public judgment, so desirable on general principles of benevolence*, that a union of the wise and pious from every State and section of the country in support of measures proposed for the good of the colored race, yet tending to no such result, could not be expected.

"'5. That the success of any measures for the good of that race must depend in a great degree on such union.

"'6. That Africa was inhabited by 50,000,000 to 100,000,000 of uncivilized and heathen men, and that to render as far as practicable, the elevation of her exiled children conducive to the deliverance and salvation of her home population was required alike by philanthropy and piety.

"'In view of these facts, what humanity and benevo-

lence to the colored race suggested, was embodied in the constitution of the American Colonization Society. It was expected that the operations of this Society would unfetter and invigorate the faculties, improve the circumstances, animate the hopes, and enlarge the usefulness of the free people of color; that by awakening thought, nullifying objections, presenting motives convincing to the judgment, and persuasive to the humanity of masters, they would encourage emancipation; that in Africa their results would be seen in civilized and Christian communities; in the substitution of lawful and beneficial commerce for the abominable slave trade, of peaceful agriculture for a predatory warfare, knowledge for ignorance; the arts that refine, for vices that degrade; and for superstitions, vile, cruel, and blood stained, the ennobling service and pure worship of the true God. It was believed that the fellowship of the north with the south, in African colonization, would tend powerfully to produce just opinions on the subject of slavery, and prepare for the removal of the evil without endangering the integrity and peace of the Union. It was clear that the principles and measures of the Society interfered not with those who desired to ameliorate the condition of the people of color, bond or free, who might remain in our country; but, in fact, contributed to produce those kind and considerate sentiments towards both, which alone can admit them to the privileges, possible for them while here, and denied a distinct, national existence. But the founders of the Society saw not by what authority we could limit the Almighty, and tie down the destiny of the colored people to a condition so low (or why they should be satisfied with it,) compared with the blessings of nationality.'*

* Dr. Beecher.

"If you have referred to the *Life of Ashmun* as authority in ascertaining *the great object* and *the motive* of the Colonization Society, the public will be able to judge how far the quotations used by you accord with their meaning in their connection in that work, and whether you have better reason to conclude *the* great object of the Colonization Society to be the promotion 'of the *voluntary separation* of the colored from the white race' than the *civilization of Africa.* In ordinary language, of several important objects, the most important we designate as *the* great one. The position which the civilization of Africa holds in the passage copied from the *Life of Ashmun*, shows that it was so regarded by the writer. But he is not alone. At the first meeting of the Society, before its constitution was adopted, Mr. Caldwell (afterwards its Secretary,) said:—

"'But, Mr. Chairman, I have a greater and nobler object in view in desiring them [the free people of color] to be placed in Africa. It is the belief that through them civilization and the Christian religion would be introduced into that benighted quarter of the world. It is the hope of redeeming many millions of people from the lowest state of ignorance and superstition, and restoring them to the knowledge and worship of the true God. Great and powerful as are the other motives to this measure, in my opinion, and you will find it the opinion of a large class of the community, all other motives are small and trifling compared with the hope of spreading among them the knowledge of the Gospel.'

"Said General Harper, one of the most distinguished founders of the Society, in his letter published in the first report of the institution:—

"'The greatest benefit, however, to be hoped from the

enterprize, that which in contemplation most delights the philanthropic mind, still remains to be unfolded. It is the benefit to Africa herself, from this return of her sons to her bosom, bearing with them arts, knowledge, and civilization, to which she has hitherto been a stranger.'

"And what is the language of Mr. Clay, the present President of the Society, than whom, the cause of human freedom, as well as of this Society, has seldom, if ever, found a more able or eloquent advocate:—

"'If the project did not look beyond the happiness of the two races now in America, it would be entitled to the warmest encouragement. But it presents a much more extensive field—a field only limited by the confines of one of the largest quarters of the habitable globe—for religious and benevolent exertion. Almost all Africa is in a state of the deepest ignorance and barbarism, and addicted to idolatry and superstition. It is destitute of the blessings both of Christianity and civilization. The Society is an instrument which, under the guidance of Providence, with public assistance, is competent to spread the lights of both throughout its vast dominions.' After stating that in one view of the subject it would send 6,000, and in another, 56,000 descendants of Africa annually to her shores, he adds, 'It will open forests, build towns, erect temples of public worship, and practically exhibit to the native sons of Africa the beautiful moral spectacle and the superior advantages of our religious and social systems. In this unexaggerated view of the subject, the colony, compared with other missionary plans, presents the force and grandeur of a noble steamer majestically ascending, and with ease subduing, the current of the Mississippi, in comparison with the feeble, tottering canoe, moving slowly among the reeds that fringe its shores.

It holds up the image of the resistless power of the Mississippi itself, rushing from the summits of the Rocky mountains, and marking its deep, and broad, and rapid course, through the heart of this continent, thousands of miles to the Gulf of Mexico, in comparison with that of an obscure rivulet winding its undiscernible way through dark and dense forests, or luxuriant prairies in which it is quickly and for ever lost.'

"You remark, 'A Society that should have been formed by the Jamaica planters to promote the expatriation of all the free people of color born in that island, to Sierra Leone, would have presented a precise counterpart to the colonization scheme of the Virginia slave-holders.'

"A small error in this sentence, my dear sir. You should have written *contrast* for *counterpart*. Another, in putting 'scheme of the Virginia slave-holders' for 'scheme of the American Colonization Society,' which, at its adoption, received no less the sanction of the non-slave-holders of Pennsylvania, New York and New England, than of the slave-holders of Virginia. But you may say, perhaps, that the plan of African colonization was discussed in the Virginia Legislature in 1802; and adopted, you must allow me to add, by Dr. Fothergill (an eminent member and preacher of the Society of Friends) and Granville Sharp, in 1782; prosecuted by Paul Cuffee, an intelligent and benevolent man of color, from New England, in 1811. Perhaps, if it throws odium upon the colonization scheme, to call it the scheme of the Virginia slave-holders, it may clear away this odium, possibly render it attractive, to denominate it, with the same justice, the scheme of those venerable and illustrious abolitionists, Dr. Fothergill and Granville Sharp, or of that excellent man of color, Capt. Paul Cuffee. But,

sir, between your supposed Jamaica Society and the American Colonization Society, I discover but *one* point of resemblance, and at least *four* points of difference.

"*First.* They are both societies, and have to do with persons of color. In this they agree.

"They differ, first, in that the Jamaica Society is a body of slave-holders, the Colonization Society of slave-holders and non-slave-holders.

"*Second.* The Jamaica Society is an expatriating Society; the American Colonization Society one to aid the colonization of voluntary emigrants.

"*Third.* The Jamaica Society would force their free blacks from one English colony to another, where they will have as little or less chance of rising to a distinct, social, and political existence; the Colonization Society would aid the free colored people of America to escape from embarrassment, and found free States and the church on the African shores, the honors and blessings of which are to be their own for ever.

"*Fourth.* As the Jamaica scheme is to drive the free colored people from one place to a distant one, no better, at least, for themselves, and the colonization scheme to encourage the same class in working out their redemption from all the disabilities and degradations of their condition, and imparting the most precious benefits of art, civilization, and Christianity, to a dark and degenerate quarter of the globe; the first is marked by selfishness, the last replete with philanthropy.

"I have not alluded to an insinuation of yours, touching the 'import trade,' as though you would suggest that slaves from Africa are still introduced into the United States. I know not that such a thing has occurred for years. To introduce them into any part of the American

Union, is piracy, and punishable with death, and no people are more disposed to see this law enforced than the citizens of every portion of the United States.

"The length of this letter must be attributed, sir, to an attachment, which I trust ever ardently to cherish, to truth, justice, and humanity. Whatever else I may take with me from England, I shall certainly depart with the consciousness of having honestly and earnestly sought to harmonize opinion between virtuous minds in this country and my own, on one of the greatest questions that can occupy attention, and, what is more, to unite their sympathies and affections. It is a union of hearts I seek. Even the majesty of reason has no power to awe in the hurricane of the passions. Would to God that the heart of the universal Church were penetrated by those words of supreme authority, 'Let all wrath, and anger, and evil-speaking, be put away from you with all malice, and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, loving one another, and forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven you.' I am no apologist, as has been said, for any system of slavery. I would promote the liberty and happiness of every class and description of human beings; but we must take care so to remedy evils, that the remedy prove not worse than the disease. You, sir, would not *overthrow the fabric of the American constitution or subvert the Government of England, because in both, as in one of your magnificent cathedrals, there may be wanting perfect beauty of proportion, some stains, some flaws, be discerned amid the grandeur of their arches and their columns.* My sensibilities are keenly alive to the trials of our slave population. Point to a single sentence which I ever wrote to show the reverse. The *Life of Ashmun*, (a

book which, for the merit of its subject, if no other, will live, while books live,) the *African Repository*, conducted by myself as sole editor for nearly ten years, contain, I venture to assert, not less sound, discreet, persuasive argument in favor of the emancipation of the slaves of the United States, and of general liberty, than exists in the same space in the whole range of English literature.

"And, sir, little credit as may be given to the opinion in England, I shall, nevertheless, hazard it, because I believe it to be true, that the persons who are prepared to make the largest sacrifices, to devote the most self-denying exertions for the good of the slave population of America, are to be found among the people of the southern States. What my own views are on slavery, and the internal slave trade, may be more evident from the following passage, written in 1825, and published in the first volume of the *African Repository*, with which I conclude this communication:

"'That the slave trade is contrary to the law of nature (says the Chief Justice of the United States,) will scarcely be denied, that every man has a natural right to the fruits of his own labor is generally admitted, and that no other person can rightfully deprive him of those fruits and appropriate them against his will, seems the necessary result of this admission.' 'Now, these fundamental truths do not admit of application to the slave trade on the coast of Africa only, but to the whole alarming evil, which, throughout a vast portion of our land, grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength. The inveteracy of this evil cannot change its moral or political tendency, nor in the least diminish the obligation to provide for it a remedy. To eradicate or remove the evil *immediately* is impossible, nor can any

law of conscience govern necessity. But in the same proportion as difficulties have been augmented by the remissness of the States, have the moral obligations of the States to make exertions been increased. If the citizens of the States in which the evil exists, deny (what we are not disposed to maintain,) that Congress has the right, without their consent, to exert any direct influence upon it, we hope they will perceive the fearful responsibility they assume to themselves, a responsibility for exemption from which many conscientious men, no doubt, truly rejoice. An inward sense of justice will unite with the claims of interest, and urge them by considerations of infinite force to commence efforts, which must be great as they are necessary, which cannot be begun too soon, which may, nay, have been, delayed too long.'

"With great respect, I am, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"R. R. GURLEY.

"London, *Dec.* 14, 1840."

It has been stated, that at one, of several meetings, of a few friends of the Colonization Society, I was requested to prepare for publication an exposition of the views of that Society, and introduce such facts as might contribute to place the institution and Liberia in their true light before the people of England. In compliance with this request, I sought to embody the reflections of some years, on the colonization and civilization of Africa, especially as connected with the interests of the descendants of Africa in the United States, in the following letter, which appeared with several other documents, bearing upon the same general subject, in a pamphlet form,

shortly before I left England. The expense of an edition of seven hundred copies of this letter, was mostly defrayed by the subscriptions of some half a dozen generous individuals.

A LETTER

TO THE HON. HENRY CLAY, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, AND TO SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE AFRICAN CIVILIZATION SOCIETY.

"GENTLEMEN: I address you as representing, in an eminent manner, the more sober general views of the great body of the wise and good in England and America in regard to the measures demanded for the relief and elevation of the African race. On a subject so vast, complex, and difficult, neither you, nor those you respectively represent, may in all points agree, yet, doubtless, you and they are animated by the same pure motives, and seeking to effect the same grand object. To this object many years of my life have been devoted. My official connection with the American Colonization Society is terminated; and from my present position I may review, perhaps, the opinions I have formed with less danger than heretofore from bias or partiality. The thoughts I express have been much considered, and I hope they may be deemed worthy of attention by the good people of the United States and of Great Britain.

"There is much variety as well as peculiarity of misfortune in the condition of the African race. The great majority of this people still inhabit their ancient land of Africa, broken up into almost innumerable tribes, differing, to some extent, in complexion, customs, knowledge, and superstitions, slightly united by social ties, governed

by arbitrary chiefs with little form of law, and generally and deeply degraded by long prevalent barbarism, the rites of a debasing religion, by slavery and the slave trade. Estimates of the population of Africa have varied from sixty millions to one hundred and fifty millions, and probably the exact number lies between these two extremes. This vast population is spread over a country of great extent and fertility, abundant in resources, penetrated by many large navigable rivers, and blessed with rich advantages for agriculture and commerce with civilized nations.

"A portion of this race occupy the British West Indian Islands, with advantages and encouragements for improvement, having been raised by the power of the English Government from slavery to freedom.

"Another portion (not exceeding probably, altogether, including the free blacks of Mexico, five millions,) exist as slaves in the Brazils, Cuba, and the French, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, and Dutch colonial possessions in various parts of the globe.

"Another portion (about 3,000,000,) are in the United States, the majority in slavery in the Southern States of the Union, and about half a million free, and scattered throughout all the States.

"Nearly one million of this people are in Hayti, self-governed, and, I trust, slowly improving, having by a fierce and bloody conflict cast off the chains of their former bondage.

"Finally, a considerable number (though less we presume than are in the same condition in Christian countries,) are in slavery in the Mahomedan empire.

"From this brief and very imperfect survey, it is evident that the whole number of Africans in exile in all

parts of the world is small compared with that of those still residing on the soil of Africa. Nor can we doubt, from the facts and statements exhibited in the recent work on the slave trade and its remedy, that the greatest physical evils endured by the African race result from the slave trade, which, though utterly condemned by the general opinions and laws of Christian nations, is nevertheless prosecuted by avarice and inhumanity to an unprecedented extent, attended by the most shockingly criminal and cruel acts, and an immense waste of human life. Nearly or quite half a million of wretched Africans are annually torn from their homes, a moiety of whom perish in capture, during their march to the coast, in the holds of slave ships on their passage across the ocean, or during the first trials of toil and exposure in a foreign climate. In view of an evil so terrible, so enormous, it becomes all humane and Christian men immediately, solemnly, and with their might, to exert themselves to discover and apply the remedy, and, unmindful of minor differences of sentiment and all merely personal considerations, to unite in measures the most efficient for the relief of such inexpressible miseries, and the redress of such atrocious wrongs as are involved in the slave trade. Yet as the source and seat of this trade is in the barbarism and degradation of Africa, all measures will prove, we fear, but palliative of the evil, which do not include as an end the civilization and elevation of the African race. The great inquiry should be, I conceive, *How shall the greatest good, in the shortest time, be conferred upon the greatest number of this afflicted and injured people?*

"In this inquiry other questions, than those concerning the injustice of establishing or perpetuating either the

slave trade or slavery are involved. I know not that in England and America the slave trade has any advocates or defenders, and slavery as an original and permanent system will find few among civilized nations. But to show how the efforts of philanthropy shall be combined and directed, so as to suppress utterly the African slave trade, secure the abolition of slavery, without detriment, and with advantage to all parties, and in all countries where it exists, and the civilization of Africa, so darkened and debased by ignorance, superstition, oppression, and vice, and this in the shortest possible period, is a matter of vital importance to the honor of our religion and the interests of humanity.

"Nor are we in danger of over-estimating the magnitude and grandeur of an enterprize embracing prospectively the many millions, with their future descendants, of one of the largest quarters of the globe, the millions from that country now in exile and chains in other lands, with their descendants, and affecting, as in its progress and results it must, the political, social, and commercial condition of several civilized and powerful nations. Human thought and ability are often wasted upon insignificant and even unworthy objects. Those which rightly demand our sympathy and aid, are frequently very limited in the number, extent, and duration of their benefits. We open the village school, give food, clothing, or shelter to the destitute, rear asylums for those stricken down by misfortune, or touched in body or estate by the chastening hand of God, and rejoice even if a few of his rational creatures, our brethren, derive relief, or find solace and unwonted joy from the ministrations of our hands; but when a continent cries to us for succor; when millions, perishing, make to us their appeal; when

a whole race of men, a large proportion of the entire human family, call upon us for deliverance from unutterable wrongs and miseries, and a participation in the choicest blessings which the Divine Father, in the bounty of his grace, has bestowed upon ourselves, it were a disgrace for which we could never atone, to remain unmoved or inactive. The evils to be remedied, the good to be conferred by our Christian exertions in such a case, surpass the boundaries of the human imagination, the comprehension of any finite mind. As in charity there can be no excess, neither can there be of zeal in such a cause; for here enthusiasm is sobriety.

"Though my opinion is, that of all measures of general policy for the benefit of the African race, the colonization in Africa of free persons of color, with their own consent, on the principles developed in the colony of Liberia, is the best which can at present be adopted by American and English philanthropists, I am not insensible to the value of many subordinate and auxiliary plans, or to the purity of motive by which they are sustained. In various channels and from various points, the charities of the Christian world may flow forth and finally commingle in one and the same broad stream of beneficence to Africa.

"But if the scheme of colonization suggested, as, at present, the main plan of benefit to the African race, surpasses any and all others in efficiency and advantage; if at its commencement, and for several years to come, it require great energy and resources, the opinion of England and America should be united for its support. Opinion is becoming the mistress of states and of the world. How mighty the reason and benevolence of these two countries acting together and for the same end! How disas-

trous to the hopes of Africa should their opinions on this subject tend in opposite directions, neutralize each other, if not exhaust their strength in the fierceness of controversy or the bitterness of reproach and recrimination.

"And here it may be important to state the moral principle which should govern the friends of the African race, in endeavors and enterprizes for their benefit; and to show that it is the same, which by the Divine law, each and every man is bound to manifest in his conduct towards one and all of his fellow men. It is simply that principle of justice and benevolence embodied in the golden rule of the Saviour of the world. In its application to the inhabitants and descendants of Africa, there is no peculiarity unless it lie in the strength of reasons which urge this application on account of the greatness of their wrongs and the extremity of their miseries. Possibly, also, we may be specially bound to remedy evils which our own crimes or those of our immediate ancestors have produced. But with these qualifications, our duty to the African race is the same owed by us to any other people in like circumstances.

"The law of Christianity enjoining reciprocal and equal benevolence, universally, and at all times, between man and man, is the sole foundation of human rights, and this general law can, in the innumerable cases, not defined or settled by particular Divine precepts, be obeyed only by such acts and methods as an honest reason shall prescribe. The principle of this law, perfect and immutable, holds authority over all human society, but in its application to particular circumstances, conditions, and individuals of this society, varies endlessly, involves every question of expediency, and requires the exercise of our highest faculties, of the soundest and most saga-

cious judgment. No one can doubt the truth of this doctrine who will reflect upon his own conduct for a single day. Why bestows he alms upon *this* destitute person and not upon *that*, sustains this proposed measure for the public advantage and not that other, but in recognition of the fact that in most of the actions and duties of life, Christianity governs by general laws, leaving human reason to study the lessons of experience, and to select and apply the means and methods of beneficence. In all domestic, social, and political life, and in ten thousand forms, this fact is manifested every hour, and while I see in it, for many reasons, a peculiar wisdom and a high moral discipline, I know that, had it been otherwise, and special laws dictated and prescribed each and every act of our lives, the world itself would not contain the books that had been written.

"The rights of man imply corresponding obligations, and the existence of one or both between men, presupposes human society. I am dealing now with the *morale* of the subject, and not with its artificial or merely legal aspects. No reasoning, then, on the rights of man, is of force or value, which treats him as solitary and alone, or which rests merely upon the dignity and immortality of his nature. Nor is it possible to discover, independent of a serious attention to circumstances and consequences, from the preceptive code of Christianity, many of the rights of others, and of our particular obligations of duty; and not less rational is he, who, because God has left to him the free use of his limbs, confronts the steam engine in its velocity, or dares the wrath of all the elements, than he who, in his plans of benevolence, overlooks the fact, that not more perfect or unbending in principle, than

comprehensive and accommodating in the modes of its application to human society and human affairs, is the Divine law, regulating things on earth as in heaven, partially by exact definitions and rules, but mostly by purity of motive and the all-hallowing and benign influences of reciprocal and universal love. So far as any system of political or personal slavery violates the specific precepts or the general laws of Christianity, it must be condemned, and should be immediately abolished, yet whether such a system be for a time, on the whole, right or wrong, it is clear, that the duties and rights of individuals invested, thereby, with authority, or bound to submission and servitude, are affected and modified by a state of things, which exists, perhaps, (if they are in a minority,) without their choice, and which neither one nor both of them find it possible to control. As they neither established the system, may not desire to perpetuate and cannot abolish it, they must fulfil the royal law according to the Scriptures by such acts of mutual justice and kindness as are compatible with the necessities of their condition and the public welfare.

"Men, as individuals, and society, as a body of individuals, are equally bound to do what they can to reform abuses, promote justice, and seek the perfectibility of all social and political institutions; yet in regard to the means they adopt for these great ends, they must be mainly governed by their own judgments, deliberately and conscientiously formed under responsibilities to the Author of all wisdom, the Supreme Ruler of the world.

"Much controversy in regard to slavery, arises from the different meanings given by different writers to that term, some using it as synonymous with the act of reducing a free person to involuntary and perpetual servi-

tude; others, as that system or institution of society which legalizes and makes hereditary this servitude; some as a wrong involving every crime committed towards slaves where such an institution prevails; some as the mere condition of the slaves; and others as simply the relation existing between the individual master and his slaves, the effects of which must clearly depend very much upon the character of the persons and the peculiar circumstances of the case. Some deem slavery, however modified, and wherever existing, so entirely and intolerably criminal, that for its overthrow they would willingly hazard all consequences, and in their enthusiasm for what they term the inalienable rights of humanity, violate the rights of independent communities, the long acknowledged and sanctioned laws of nations.

"States and individuals are alike bound by the general and special laws of the Christian religion, and to hold or treat human beings as *mere* property, I regard as a violation of the principles of that religion; yet it by no means follows that all masters, form the very nature of the relation they sustain to their slaves, are to be condemned, or that the state in which slavery exists, is bound to proclaim immediate, unconditional, universal, and entire emancipation. The relation of master does not oblige the master to treat the slave as *mere* property. The state may repeal all laws which *thus* regard the slave, short of an act of unconditional and entire emancipation. Even the liabilities to evil to which particular slaves are exposed in the service of Christian masters in America, may be less than those to which they would be exposed, at present, by an act of emancipation. But it may be said, the liabilities to evil of particular slaves by emancipation, could not exist were there general emancipation.

This may be true; but I am speaking of things as they are, and not as they might be, and of the modification of the duties of individuals by the condition of society. To illustrate, then, my meaning, the slave of a humane master may have a family connected, as slaves, with a neighboring plantation, and emancipation might expose him, as in some cases it would, to separation from his wife and children, by removal from the state, and thus prove to him a curse rather than a blessing. It may be true that *his* liabilities to evil in slavery are less than they would be in freedom.

"If we look to a republican confederacy, like that of the United States, of many states, in one-half of which slavery exists, and in the other not, where the evil was planted, in opposition to earnest and repeated remonstrances from the people, then colonially dependent, by a ruling but foreign power; where the numbers in slavery are large, in some states a majority of the population; distinct from all other classes in origin and complexion; uneducated, and incapable of self-government, it is clear that those providently entrusted with political control, must look to the general welfare, consider the interests of others as well as of the slaves, and that they would disregard the highest obligations should they by sudden and rash changes, expose the country to revolution, or all the horrors of civil war. The temper of the people is to be observed as well as the physical condition of society, the helm of power is not to be surrendered to unsafe or incompetent hands, and it must be remembered, for the sake of the slaves themselves, that restraints upon the freedom of men are sometimes among their dearest rights. My purpose, however, is not to discuss the whole question of slavery, but to show, that in regard to that, as

well as to most other evils in the world, Christian discretion should be exercised under the general law of Christian benevolence, and that those writers and (many such recent ones there are) who confound all distinctions between slavery and the African slave trade; between the guilt of him who reduces free men to slavery and of him who receives by inheritance an estate upon which are slaves, made such by laws enacted by generations that died before he was born; between the conduct of a parent nation, forcing, for gain, this evil of slavery upon her colonies, disposed, but unable, to resist, and that of those colonies become independent states, and in view of the differences of their free and slave population and the near equality of their numbers, hesitating to attempt emancipation, mainly from apprehensions that such an attempt would produce evils greater than slavery itself; disregard or leave unnoticed the deeper and more important elements in the subject, from which alone we can frame arguments for the enfranchisement of their slaves, convincing to the slave-holders, because just to facts and to motives, and trusting rather to their sense of obligation to do good unto all men, than to the imagined wisdom of our own suggestions, how this obligation, in the particular case, shall be discharged.

"I have no thought or wish to apologize for any of the sins and wrongs of slavery. The doctrine I maintain appears to me the doctrine of Christianity, and better adapted (as surely it must be if such,) to secure the freedom and happiness of the slaves than any one more austere, and less capable of being discriminately applied to the ever varying existence and circumstances of human beings. It is of the perfection as well as equity of the Divine Law, not to hold the state responsible for crimes

which no state legislation could prevent or punish, nor the individual bound to redress wrongs and evils created and sanctioned by state authority, and which he is unable either to arrest or control. True, every man should, by his influence and example, plead for righteousness; and from the retirements of individual souls must emanate the power to conquer evil; gradually, increasingly and without disturbance, pervade the bodies politic of states and kingdoms, establish justice in the seats of renown, and crown charity queen of the world,—the power of Divine truth, wisdom, and love.

"Slavery (I speak now of the system) in the United States and other countries, is one of the many forms of oppression which all good men must desire to see speedily, and with advantage to all parties, abolished. Originating in the errors and crimes of a former age, closely interwoven with all the institutions and habits of society, strengthened by interest and time, and in America, depending upon no power or authority except the states, individually, where it exists, the reason, conscience, and will of the masters, are the principal, if not only channels, through which the influences of truth and kindness can operate successfully for its removal. Let such influences alone operate. Censure, reproach, interference by citizens of other states, tend but to add rigor to the bondage, and gloom to the prospects of the slave population. And it should be known in England, as it is known in America, that the sentiments, the jugdments, the institutions of the people of the United States are on the side of general liberty. The people of these states generally, regard slavery as an anomaly to the entire spirit and plan of their political being, and therefore its toleration and support must be traced to some powerful reasons in their minds,

unconnected with their general views of politics and society. These reasons arise from the wide differences in complexion, history, character, and condition, between those of Anglo-Saxon and African descent, which are thought to render intimate, social and political union between them impracticable if desirable, and undesirable if practicable, injurious to both, and of benefit to neither, and from the dangers of collision, were both free on the same soil, should such union not be effected. If these ideas be erroneous, they are general and powerful, you cannot meet and overcome them by argument, for they spring from association and sympathies; they may die, but cannot be conquered.

"I have expressed the opinion that the colonization of free persons of color, with their own consent, in Africa, on the principles developed in the establishment and progress of Liberia, is, of all plans practicable at present, most deserving support in England and America, because of highest utility and promise to the African race.

"The history of the colony of Liberia, though brief, is full of interest and instruction to the student of human nature, and particularly to those philanthropists who seek to civilize Africa, and elevate the minds of her children. Granville Sharp, Dr. Fothergill, and their associates, had founded Sierra Leone. The rude materials with which they commenced their work, and extraordinary disasters, soon compelled them to commit the destinies of this colony to the English Government; and though it looks out brightly and encouragingly from the African shore, it has hardly fulfilled the best hopes of its earliest friends. The colony of Liberia owes its existence to a benevolent American Society, has no connection with the Government, and from it has derived but

occasional, and, compared with that of individuals, but small aid. The wise and good men who, twenty-four years ago, organized the American Colonization Society, proposed a plan of benevolence to the African race, so simple and unobjectionable, that the citizens of the whole United States might contribute to its support, so powerful in its tendencies of good in all directions, and comprehensive in its promised beneficence, as to want, in theory, at least, little if anything of perfection. This plan was, to purchase from the African chiefs a suitable and sufficiently extended territory, and to assist such bold and energetic free men of color, residing in the United States, as might desire to emigrate, to found thereon a free and Christian state, which, from the nature of its institutions, the development of its principles and resources, and the discipline of its circumstances must strengthen and elevate the intellect and moral character of its citizens; by example and endeavors plant and propagate civilization and Christian doctrine in Africa; suppress the slave trade; react powerfully upon America to promote emancipation by means disconnected from danger, demanded by general justice, and fraught with blessings never yet attained by it, to the liberated Africans and to their race; thus showing by experiment, and demonstrating in fact, how this race may cast off the incumbrances and entanglements of their thraldom, and self-respected, because deserving praise, stand in dignity and honor before the world. It is the peculiar excellency of this plan, that for its success, reliance is mainly placed upon the ability of the descendants and people of Africa themselves, when favored in position and stimulated by high motives, to rise from their degradation, assume a national character, and secure prosperity and a

name among the nations. The purpose of the Society has been to place the objects of its bounty in such a position, and supply to them such motives. Poor are the richest endowments of fortune, compared with the acquisitions of the mind. Worthless are the distinctions which others may confer on us, compared with those we may, by great acts and great endurance, achieve for ourselves. It has been by toil and trial, by suffering and conflict, by self-denial and self-discipline, by hazardous adventure and often by the iron hand of necessity, that individuals and nations have ascended from weakness, obscurity, and disgrace, to power and grandeur.

"Since a band of persecuted pilgrims, impelled by concern for the rights of conscience and the truths of God, first trod the icy and rock-bound coast of New England, few events of higher moral interest or sublimity have occurred than the establishment of the colony of Liberia. Much praise is due to the Colonization Society, but far more to the heroic men of color who went forth, at the peril of their lives, with no safeguard but Providence, to plant the seeds of liberty and Christianity in the most barbarous quarter of the world, and there, far away from the arm of any civilized government, in the face of a fierce and mighty opposition, to rear the fabric of a free, well-ordered, and religious commonwealth. It is true that this small company of brave adventurers in the cause of their race, have been assisted by teachers and guides from among the whites, and Heaven has smiled upon them; yet it is to their own awakened energy, their industry, resolution, courage, and faith in God, that we must mainly attribute their success. The world has little observed, perhaps less applauded them. Probably not one in a thousand in this metropolis has

any knowledge of their existence. Yet they have founded a republican and Christian state in Africa, which promises to grow and extend itself for ages, and constituted and adapted in the whole character of its institutions and laws to kindle the individual mind, and give full play to all those intellectual and moral faculties which, nobly exercised, exalt men to greatness, may prove a central light and power to revive and renovate their country and their race.

"But to be more specific in regard to the principles embodied and developed in the colony of Liberia.

"It is designed for a national and independent political existence.

"Its institutions are republican, or in the hands of the people.

"Control over them is reserved to the people of color.

"Slavery can have no existence within the limits of the colony.

"All transactions with the native tribes are to be conducted on principles of exact justice.

"Both law and practice are in hostility to the slave trade.

"Provision is to be made for universal education.

"No preference is to be given to any religious sect, but perfect, and therefore equal, toleration is secured to all.

"Missionaries of all Christian denominations among the native Africans are to be countenanced and encouraged in their work.

"Colored emigrants are aided by the Society during six months after their arrival, receive donations of land, and having taken possession of the same, and cultivated a few acres, become entitled to all the privileges of citizenship.

"Various, recent, and unexceptionable testimony from sources, English as well as American, might be adduced to show how these principles, incorporated in its constitution, laws, and the manners and sentiments of its citizens, are so well adapted to make it a contented, enterprizing, improving, religious community, aiding to suppress the slave trade, and to diffuse a knowledge of civilization and Christianity among the native African tribes.

"This colony of Liberia, (including the settlements founded by the people of Maryland at Cape Palmas,) extends from that point lat. 4° 10′ N., to Cape Mount lat. 6° 45′ N., a distance by the coast of about three hundred miles, and varying in extent interior, from ten to forty miles. The Governor of the principal colony is a white man, that of Maryland, a man of color, educated in New England. The governments of both are founded upon the consent of the people, and administered by officers of their own choice. The beautiful and thriving towns or villages of *Monrovia*, *Caldwell*, *New Georgia*, *Millsburg*, *Marshall*, *Greenville*, *Bassa Cove*, *Edina*, *Bexley*, *Rozenberg*, *Harper*, *and others*, *adorn this coast*, so recently covered with barbarism, and exposed to all the atrocities and horrors of the slave trade. Eighteen churches and many schools are established. Of several thousand emigrants from the United States, about two thousand were manumitted by benevolent masters, and assisted to take possession of this their long lost, but now recovered, and we trust, secure and permanent inheritance. The exports from this colony, consisting of ivory, camwood, palm oil, tortoise-shell, gold, beeswax, and hides, has amounted to from one to two hundred thousand dollars annually, for several years, while an equal amount of American and European manufactures

has been received in return. Several small coasting vessels, (not fewer than twelve or fifteen,) manned and navigated by the colonists, are constantly engaged from Monrovia, the principal seaport, in a profitable trade along seven hundred miles of the coast. Seldom is the harbor of this town without foreign vessels, nearly one hundred of which, from the United States, England, France, Sweden, Portugal, and Denmark, touch there every year. The country possesses great advantages for agriculture, as well as commerce; cotton, coffee, sugar, rice, indigo, palm-oil, with ivory, and many rich gums, drugs, and spices from the forest, may, by industry and energy, be produced or obtained in large quantities for exportation.

"The respect for good morals and religion is general and great. Three years ago, there were about eight hundred members of the Christian church; profaneness and intoxication are almost unknown, and as early as 1834, a Temperance Society, in a few weeks after its organization, reckoned on its list five hundred members, at that time, one-fifth of the entire population. Nowhere is the Sabbath more regarded, or Divine worship attended with more apparent devotion. In some settlements, the sale of ardent spirits is entirely prohibited by law; everywhere the use of them is discouraged by public opinion. Some thirty African chiefs have consented by treaty to discontinue the slave trade, and many thousands of the native population have placed themselves under the protection and authority of the Colonial Government.

"The ministers of the Gospel, about forty in number, hold religious meetings during the week, as well as on Sundays, and give religious instruction in the native villages. The legislative council, the courts of justice, the lyceums, societies for mental improvement, and for pur-

poses of benevolence, the ably conducted presses, the public library, the ardent desire for knowledge pervading the whole community, a well organized militia, and numerous civil officers discharging their duties with skill and fidelity, are impressive evidences of improvement, and of the efficiency of the principles, inculcated and embodied in the colonization of Liberia. To the mental discipline, the force of motives, elevated and constant, the kindling up of hope, in view of an almost boundless prospect of honor and usefulness, must we ascribe the conduct and success of the people of this colony.

"Nor should I omit to mention how the gates of Africa have been opened through this colony, for the admission of missionaries, and other Christian teachers, to her native population, and that sixty such persons, sustained in their most benevolent efforts, by four of the principal denominations of American Christians, have entered upon this field, never before visited by the messengers of peace and salvation, and been welcomed by its rude occupants, ready to receive the words of Divine wisdom, and to escape from the bondage and shadow of death.

"In sundry important particulars there is, between the American Colonization Society, and the African Civilization Society of England, an exact agreement.

"In their utter detestation of the African slave trade, *they agree :*

"In the opinion, that for its overthrow, we should not rest contented, to abide the slow progression of the principles of justice, throughout the world, but lay by far the greatest stress, on all those efforts which may tend to enlighten and civilize the African mind, *they agree :*

"In the choice of Africa, as the great theatre for their operations, *they agree :*

"In the principal agents to be employed in their enterprize, free persons of color of African descent, *they agree :*

"In the design and importance of endeavors, by peaceful and fair negotiation, to obtain the consent of the chiefs, and natives of Africa, to abolish the slave trade, *they agree*:

"In many of the means for the civilization of the people of Africa; the establishment of schools, for literary and religious instruction, of manufactories and workshops, in in which shall be taught, the useful arts; of model farms, to show practically the best modes of agriculture; in the encouragement of Christian missions, and, finally, in the purpose of demonstrating to the view of the inhabitants of Africa, how they may avail themselves of the vast resources of their country, and find it their interest, as it is their duty, to abolish the traffic in slaves, *they agree :*

"In their ideas of the vast extent of good to be attained by their exertions, *they agree :*

"On two points only, in their contemplated operations in Africa, they may differ, yet independent of any reasons which I shall be able to offer in favor of a perfect union, I am not sure, that even on these, they will long disagree.

"I refer first, to the establishment of colonies or communities of free persons of color in Africa, destined to self-government and to a permanent and independent political existence; and second, to the question of temporary authority to be exercised over such colonies, for their benefit by the Governments of England or the United States. The able Chairman of the General Committee of the Civilization Society has indeed declared, that their object is to civilize, not to colonize; yet in the same letter he adds, 'It is true, I may be desirous that we should form settlements, and even that we should obtain the right

of jurisdiction in certain districts, because we could not otherwise secure a fair trial or full scope for our normal schools, our model farms, and our various projects to awaken the minds of the natives, to prove to them the importance of agriculture, and to excite the spirit of commerce;' and Sir George Stephen regards colonization (if we mistake not,) as a thing incidental, if not necessary to the execution of the plan of the committee; and while the Chairman desires the authority of the Government to be extended over such territory as may be acquired, one of his associates, perhaps not less distinguished than himself, thinks this authority, if granted, will be but temporary; and that free men of color from all parts of the world will soon be invited and assisted to occupy this territory as independent communities. On these points it is clear the plans of the Civilization Society are not matured. That the Governments of England and America should extend, for a time, a protecting and fostering care over colonies planted in Africa by benevolent individuals or societies, may be admitted; the writer has on proper occasions urged the friends of the African race in America, to make their appeal, to the several governments of the Union for aid to the cause of African colonization; yet neither he nor they have once thought of turning from that object the very lode-star in their policy — the establishment of colonies with the spirit, ability, and right to frame and build up their own social and political institutions as a free and independent people.

"For one, I hold, that in our endeavors to civilize Africa, it is unwise to rely solely or mainly upon individual missionaries, or upon any companies of men not bound together voluntarily by social and political ties,

and that the colonial system of England, though not on the whole an evil,* is very imperfectly adapted to develop the power and exalt the character of the native population of the countries over which it extends. The author of the work on the slave trade, and its remedy, will concur in this opinion. But to multiply colonies of free men of color in Africa, on the principles of Liberia, is to introduce impressive examples of order, law, and government, to furnish to the colonists themselves the strongest and most animating motives for improvement, and to command the respect while we enlighten the minds of the native population. The opinion of the learned and able superintendent of the Missions of the London Society, at the Cape of Good Hope, (Dr. Philip,) is entitled to high

* "'Our colonies, which, owing to their youth and distance from the parent state, ought to have excited and called into operation a larger share of maternal interest, have been sadly misused. The incalculable riches which from the lap of abundance they may have even offered to pour forth on the shores of Albion, have been fatuitously in many instances, rejected, and the golden opportunity of binding with a silken chain of commerce the east and the west, and the south and the north of the empire, too often sacrificed for the sake of private gain and the promotion of selfish interests. But it is to be hoped that the progress of knowledge—the extension of colonial commerce, and the light of the Gospel with which the ministers of religion are illuminating every land, will awaken attention to the transmarine dominions of England, where the statesman, guided by the precepts of Christianity, may fortify our empire for ages, where the merchant may in activity follow his peaceful and civilizing pursuits, where the naturalist may delight in scenes of exquisite and endless beauty, adorned with every variety of the animal and vegetable creation, where the philanthropist may exult in the progressive improvement of his fellow creatures, and, above all, where the Christian may rejoice in the anticipation of that prophesied kingdom whose branches and roots are to extend throughout the universe.'"—M. Martin.

respect. 'I say nothing,' he observes, 'of the advantages America may gain from the colony of Liberia, or of the advantages the people of color may gain from becoming citizens of this new country. I leave such questions to be settled by the citizens of the United States, who are by their local knowledge better qualified than I am to decide them. But so far as our plans for the future improvement of Africa are concerned, I regard this settlement as full of promise to this unhappy continent. Half a dozen such colonies, conducted on Christian principles, might be the means, under the Divine blessing, of regenerating this degraded quarter of the globe, Every prospective measure for the improvement of Africa must have in it the seminal principles of good government, and no better plan can be devised for laying the foundation of Christian governments, than this new settlement presents. Properly conducted, your new colony may become an extensive empire, which may be the means of shedding the blessings of civilization and peace over a vast portion of this divided and distracted continent.'

"Concurring, then, in many and very essential particulars, as well as in benevolence of motive, it remains to be seen whether the African Civilization Society of England, and the American Colonization Society, will, on those just specified, ultimately agree. My confidence, at least, hope, that they will do so, rests upon a firm conviction that the principles developed and applied in the colonization of Liberia, are so just in theory, and beneficent in practice, as finally to command the approbation of all philanthropists. I have great confidence in the candor, reasonableness, and benevolence of the African Civilization Society, and of the good people of England. They have recently shown an ardent and generous zeal

in the cause of the suffering Africans. I believe them capable of disinterested and glorious deeds, nor do I deem my own countrymen less capable of such achievements in this or any other enterprize of humanity. The two nations do not know, respect, trust, or love each other as they ought. Of one descent and religion, and living for common objects, the Christians of both countries should feel bound together by sacred and indissoluble ties, as the heirs of an eternal inheritance and communion, once exalted to which, (if for them regret and shame there exist,) for few sins will they experience more than for their violations towards each other of justice, brotherly kindness and charity.

"The plan of colonizing Africa, developed in Liberia, I regard as the best general plan, at present, for the benefit of the African race.

"*First.* Because it gives the noblest exercise to the minds of those who engage in it, and thus most effectually improves and elevates their character. What work more honorable than to lay the first foundations of good government and the church of God? What can so arouse the minds of a people, or so fan into a flame their enthusiasm for virtue, as to summon them to great and worthy actions — to give existence and form to a state, — to enact and administer laws, — to send out among uncivilized and untamed men, the voice of instruction and authority, — support the high prerogatives of justice — and as responsible to posterity, the world, and to God, to mark and seal the institutions of a newly organized society with indelible characters of wisdom. Nor let us think the people we would colonize, unsusceptible to the influence of lofty motives, or that by self-discipline, in circumstances adapted to call into life their energies, and

to invigorate them, they may not win the reputation of wisdom. In minds improved only as theirs, she is the daughter of experience and high resolve. The free blacks of the United States, and many of the slaves also, are in that state from which nothing great is to be expected, while they continue unexcited and in the shade of a greater people, but from which they must rise when untrammelled, and sent forth with due encouragements, to build up, unopposed by superior civilization, on the vast and rich lands of their mother country, their own fortunes, and to redeem their race. Their advantages for this work, inferior in some respects to those of the first settlers of America, are superior in others. With less knowledge of letters, they have more of the useful arts, of the free spirit of Christianity, and of the practical operations and benefit of free government. They have the records of their experience, and the light of their example, and before their eyes the mighty results of their deeds. Commerce brings them into connection with every enlightened and powerful people. The benevolence, the missionary spirit of a great nation, a spirit unequalled in any preceding age, is ready to second their exertions. Responsibilities are thrown upon them of surpassing interest and magnitude. Millions, their brethren, bound by superstition and slavery, appeal to them for light and deliverance. And, finally, defeat must be ruin, while success will be the attainment of every earthly blessing and eternal honor.

"The plan of Liberian colonization is, then, peculiarly to be commended, because bringing into play and vigorous action the noblest mental faculties, and thus elevating the character of the colonists. I know of no other plan which does, I can hardly imagine another which would

do this, so effectually. Depressed by ages of servitude and habits of dependence, such exercise and discipline the African race especially need; nor without it can we anticipate their rapid or great improvement. To exalt human character, we must touch the springs of the understanding, and move the deep and generous passions of the heart.

"In the second place, I regard this plan as chief and best, because relying mainly for success, not upon precarious, individual, or transitory effort, but upon the permanency, growth, and moral influence of well organized communities.

"A few individuals might die, a few schools be broken up, a company of missionaries, animated by the purest motives, and prepared to sacrifice every interest for the Christian cause, might be cut off by disease, or dispersed or slain by savage foes; but a well-founded commonwealth is destined, ordinarily, to a continued and increasing existence. Though feeble in its origin, it has within it durable elements of life and power. The settlement rises into a state, the state to empire. The colony of Liberia has already, within itself, the means of self-defence and self-improvement. And if, in two centuries, the republic of North America, embracing a population of more than seventeen millions, has arisen from the humble beginnings of civilization on the shores of New England and Virginia, we may hope that our African settlements, so attractive (if politically free and morally deserving,) as they must be to the exiled children of Africa, will rapidly expand into communities commanding respect by their wealth and numbers, their intelligence and strength. Their sons, natives of the soil, educated in all the arts of civilization, and in the doctrines and wisdom

of Christianity, will go forth, not by hundreds but thousands, to instruct barbarous and degraded tribes, and lead them to knowledge and liberty, and the worship of the true God. Let them convert the wildernesses of Africa into fruitful fields, her savage and enslaved people into civilized men, her victims of a cruel superstition into the meek disciples of Christ; let them 'build one great city,'* for beauty and strength to be admired, and demonstrate their ability honorably to fulfil all the duties of an independent state, and the reproach of their race, and African slavery throughout the world must for ever cease. The plan, then, is admirable, because designed to trust, for the elevation of the African race, not to uncertain, uncombined, and transitory efforts, but to the bringing into existence and action the mighty moral machinery of a well-formed and compacted state.

"In the third place, I cannot but regard this plan as worthy of universal and all possible support, because (if I may continue the figure,) this moral machinery is rightly placed—in Africa. The colony, or colonies, are to be established in Africa: the country of the African race, where most of them reside, the seat of their ancient greatness, and of their more recent, long-continued, and present sufferings and disgrace, where alone, if, as a people, they are to be civilized and taught the truths of our religion, the work can be accomplished. Here the intellectual and moral power should be planted, to act as from a centre, most rapidly, extensively, and effectively to redress the wrongs and renovate the character of the race. Its benefits will not be limited to Africa. A civilized state of colored emigrants upon her shore will be

* Dr. Breckenridge.

an object of universal interest, react to raise their brethren in all those countries from which the colonists have come forth, disturb no passions of jealousy or fear, but speak persuasively to all hearts in favor of emancipation, and thus not only shed light upon Africa, but upon the destiny of all her children. It has been well said that, raise the character of a 'single man of color, and you do a benefit to his race;'* and we may add, let one commonwealth or nation of Africans attain honorable distinction, and their brethren in all lands, and Africa herself are free. The work should be done in Africa; for if it could be done elsewhere, nowhere else could it be done so advantageously or so well. Here are by far the greatest number of Africans, and this the seat of the slave trade and their most wide-spread and appalling miseries. All the peculiar evils which afflict Africans centre here, and here only can we attack their foes in the fortresses of their strength.

"Fourthly, every candid and reflecting man, in addition to these reasons for giving support to this plan, may find inducement in the facts, that it most effectually promotes emancipation—aims to secure for the people of color now free, and those who may be manumitted, and to their race, a good far above and beyond mere emancipation—and, finally, that avoiding angry collisions and controversies, combining more elements in which the friends of the Africans agree, and fewer in which they differ, than any other; if in itself no better, it may be more productive of good, because strengthened by the union of more minds, it may be executed with greater power.

* Dr. Bacon.

"For evidence that it promotes emancipation, I appeal to the opinion and testimony of all sober and Christian men in the southern States of the American Union. No one acquainted with these, will deny that they confirm my statement. And certainly the judgment of those men, of the effects of moral causes operating in the midst of them, is not to be disregarded.

"By providing a home for the liberated, preferable to that in which they must unequally contend with the abilities and influence of the whites, it encourages the humanity that disposes to emancipation.

"By the same means, it removes one, probably the greatest obstacle to emancipation, founded in the apprehensions of collision between the colored and white races, should both be free upon the same soil; an evil which it is thought would be worse than slavery itself.

"By demonstrating how emancipation in the United States may (as on no other plan it would,) secure the highest boon of freedom, to the manumitted, an independent political existence, and through their agency contribute to work out the redemption of their whole race, it supplies to the honor and Christianity of the master the most powerful motives for the act.

"And, finally, it has secured the voluntary manumission of slaves (about two thousand,) in value (viewed as property,) nearly, if not quite, equal to the whole amount of funds given for the establishment of Liberia; while its influence to prepare for future emancipations it were difficult to estimate.

"This plan of African colonization seeks for the free people of color, for those that may become free, and through them for their race, a good far higher than mere emancipation.

"He must be ignorant of the social and political condition of the United States, who imagines that emancipation to the slaves there, if it could be effected, and they remain on the soil, would prove for some centuries, at least, if a benefit, more than a very limited and imperfect one. But the scheme which we advocate, opens to them the treasures of the best ordered and most favored existence, the means of thoroughly developing and combining their energies—of ascending, not individually, but as a people, to wealth, and fame, and power—of cultivating every field and advancing in every path of national improvement, and beneficence, and glory. What other plan spreads out before them so fruitful and inviting an inheritance, or reveals in the distant horizon such bright and shining lights?

"That this plan embraces more points in which the friends of the African race agree, and fewer in which they differ than any other, must be regarded in its favor; for though general opinion, that a scheme is right, does not necessarily make it so, such opinion cannot be disregarded, but must always enter into the calculations of a wise man. And as the effects of most schemes depend very much upon the manner of their execution, one which for its success demands the united exertions of communities or nations, may offer valid reasons for its support in the fact, that the general verdict of opinion may probably be pronounced in its favor. Indeed, a plan theoretically the best, if certain to be condemned, retarded, opposed, may be less deserving support than an inferior one generally approved, and which can be wisely and energetically executed.

"Two plans of general policy on this subject divide the friends of the colored race in England and America.

The one is sustained by those who, turning from all the wrongs and miseries of Africa, direct their efforts mainly, if not solely, to the emancipation of all slaves in Christian countries, by sounding out the doctrine of immediate abolition as a duty to be instantly performed by masters in recognition of the inherent right of the slave,—the other by the African Civilization Society, and by those who, by founding free states of voluntary colored emigrants in Africa, look for emancipation and the elevation of her children to the success and moral influence of this experiment. That the colonization scheme avoids those collisions and angry controversies inevitably connected with the scheme of Abolition is certain; and that the elements of most efficient and extensive union are with the colonizationists and not with abolitionists, I hold to be equally clear. That the two schemes do not necessarily conflict; that the same person may, without inconsistency, advocate both, I admit; yet a union at present of the citizens of the southern states of the American Confederacy with the philanthropists of other states or countries, for the benefit of the people of color, on any other than the colonization plan, is not to be expected. This fact will prevent most of the citizens of the non-slaveholding states from entering into associations of their own, or combining their efforts with foreign associations, on the abolition plan. They know that nothing can be wisely, humanely, or effectually done for the abolition of slavery, but with the will and consent of the masters, and that they are bound in good faith, and by the constitution of the country, to forbear all attempts to control or disturb the peculiar institutions of the south. They desire the liberty of the slave, but love honor, fidelity, and that union, in the stability of which is involved the

cause of republican freedom, as well as the best hopes of the slave, more. Seven-tenths at least, of the white population of the United States, I believe to be colonizationists: not because (in so far as the people of the non-slave-holding states are concerned,) of opposition to emancipation, with permission to the liberated to remain upon the soil, should this be approved by the south, but that, not being at present thus approved, they will not usurp the right of intervention in the case; and because, convinced that the colonization plan has great and comprehensive merit, that in no other will the south concur; and that if this plan be not a remedy for slavery, it is preparing the way for such remedy.

"I will not question the honesty and benevolence of the great body of English and American abolitionists, yet I regard many of their writings and proceedings as unjust to the people of the United States, particularly to the slave-holders, and pernicious in all their tendencies. No one can more desire than the writer to see modification and amendment of the legal codes of the slave-holding states in favor of the slaves. Atrocious crimes and cruelties are doubtless occasionally committed, in those states, on the persons of slaves. In what country are not oppression, cruelty, and crime found to exist? Have they no existence in England? Generally, (and I speak from personal observation and inquiry in nearly all the southern states of the American republic,) the citizens of those states are kind, humane, generous, and, in a proportion to the whole population, equal to that found in most parts of Christendom — devout and exemplary Christians. No better friends have the slaves in any part of the world than are to be found in those states. Cases of harsh treatment, of severe punishment, of wan-

ton disregard of their feelings, of the voluntary and cruel rupture of their domestic ties, of withholding from them the necessaries of life, or denying to them opportunities to hear Christian instruction and worship God, are not common — they are exceptions, not the rule. Liabilities to evil in the system of slavery are great; trying separations and wrongs among slaves are frequent; yet many laws which darken the statute books of the slave-holding states, are in practice nearly, if not quite, obsolete; and humanity and religion are exerting a mighty and increasing influence for the protection and good of this dependent people.

"Many, very many, masters and slaves are bound together by the ties of mutual confidence and affection. A large proportion of the slaves exhibit an aspect of comfort, contentment, and cheerfulness. There is much to regret, much to condemn, fearful evils which are perhaps never brought to light, in the system of slavery, yet all things (the very heavens themselves as some would represent,) are not wrapt in gloom. It is not to diminish the general sense of the injustice as well as impolicy of slavery, viewed as a permanent system, that I thus write, nor that I would lessen the moral powers that are working for its abolition, but, in reference to truth, and because he is blind who sees not that injustice to the master is injury and a crime against the slave. He who bears false witness against me, and seeks to destroy my reputation, must not expect to be my counsellor. If the abolitionists of New England and of Old England have no influence among American slave-holders, and little with the citizens generally of the United States, to their errors in principle, and more to their faults and offences in practice, must they trace the cause. If their errors and faults

originate in ignorance, they might be pardoned, and may be corrected; but while persisted in, they sunder all bonds of respect and moral union between their authors and the citizens of the southern states of America, and indeed of a great majority of the Americans. They tend to produce between England and America hostile sentiments, perhaps actual war. Indeed, having excluded themselves utterly from the confidence of those upon whom, under Providence, depend the hopes and destiny of the slave population, some of their number, in the ardor of their ill-regulated enthusiasm and the darkness of their perverted understandings, are ready to stake upon war, the success of their cause. But the idea that England should make war upon America to abolish slavery, is so unmerciful towards the slaves, as well as preposterous and atrocious in every respect, that I doubt not it will be reprobated by the general reason and humanity of the English nation. As I wish to show that the principles of extensive and efficient union for the benefit of the African race are with the colonizationists and not with the abolitionists, I deem it pertinent to quote two or three passages from recent abolition publications in England, containing sentiments which, if their folly did not equal their wickedness, would be alarming to the true friends of the slaves and of peace.

"On the 14th of September last, Mr. Remond, a man of color, from the United States, addressed a public meeting of the Glasgow Anti-slavery Society, in the Rev. Dr. Heugh's church, and among other things said—

"'Such was the state of things on the opposite side of the Atlantic; and now he would put the question, what were the friends of anti-slavery in Britain to do for the abolition cause. A reference was, in the letter he had

read, made to the north-east boundary question. After referring to the ardent desire for war with England, manifested by the State of Maine, about a few acres of land, and their inconsistency in refusing to give liberty to the slave, Mr. Remond proceeded to show that a war with England would inevitably lead to the emancipation of the slaves. He believed that England held the means in her own hands in relation to the system of slavery, and he trusted she would not shrink from the contest; for, dearly as he loved his country, and to dwell upon the associations which he had experienced there, he felt that emancipation from any other quarter was not to be hoped for—and God grant that it might arrive early. The American nation, he observed, had every thing to lose by a contest with England. This sentiment, he knew, might cost him his head; he knew he would be in danger, the moment he stepped on his native shore, for having given expression to such views as these, but he cared not; it would at least be known that one colored American had dared to speak freely and boldly on this subject. (Cheers.) He would not give up the privilege and the prerogative of speaking out, as a free man, while the breath was in his body. * * * * * Let there be war between England and America, and the shackles which now held so many in bondage in his country would be broken to-morrow.'

"The Rev. Mr. Keep, from the Oberlin Institution, United States, attempted to apologise to the audience for the warmth of his friend, Mr. Remond, who is subsequently reported to have said—

"'He would not have any one suppose that he would return to his country with the view of inciting the slave to insurrection against his master. He did not think it

would be necessary; for he believed the slave would be freed only by the progress of peaceful truth. He only spoke what were his own sentiments in relation to himself; and he did not wish to soften down the sentiment in the least. * * * * *

"I leave it to those who can better reconcile differences than myself, to show Mr. Remond's consistency in urging a war as affording the only hope for emancipation, and then avowing a belief that the slave would be freed only by the progress of Christian truth.

"The editor of a newspaper (published, if we mistake not, at Ipswich,) gives the following paragraph evincing ignorance, and marked by sentiments better suited to the inmate of a lunatic hospital, than to one standing forth as adviser of a humane, wise, and puissant nation.

"'We are afraid there is a wish on the part of the thousands in America, who are implicated in the slave traffic, to provoke hostilities with England, in order to divert attention from the abolition question, and get rid of the present agitation created by the laudable perseverance of philanthropists in both countries. If war be inevitable, our heart's desire is, that it may lead to the annihilation of American slavery. The horrors of the slave system, as pursued in the southern States, are unutterable; nothing that the wildest imagination can conceive, surpasses the cruelties inflicted on the wretched negro victims; and if it were in our power to stir up the spirit of the slaves to rebel against the heartless planters, and by one effort shake off their fetters, we would use that power, though all America were thrown into disorder, and presented one wide field of bankruptcy and ruin. If the sword of Great Britain should be un-

sheathed, let her not draw back her hand until she has secured the freedom of the slave. * * *

"'We would that America had listened to the voice of reason and mild remonstrance from the British shores, and suppressed the lingering abomination amidst the acclaiming cheers of humanity; but she persists in the unholy traffic—she welcomes to her shores the infernal slave ship, filled with bales of human merchandize—she still promotes the detestable system of slave-breeding in her States—she heeds not the groans and tears which fill her land, the boasted land of freedom, equality, and civilization.

* * * * * *

"'The horizon is dark and troubled—we know not where war with America will end—her curse is of slavery; of all the dangers that threaten her, that of slavery is the greatest—she is wedded to the evil, and to utter the word abolition, in the southern States, would be to defy death. What is the duty of England, is a serious inquiry. We wish for nothing but moral influence; but if there must be physical conflict, let not the Abolitionists, even in war, be diverted from their course, but strive more energetically to merge all dissensions and distinctions in the overwhelming unity of demand—*annihilate slavery in America.*'

"In the number of *Frazer's Magazine* for the present month, (April,) appears an article entitled, 'WAR WITH AMERICA A BLESSING TO MANKIND.' While calculated (we fear designed,) to stir the passions of the unthinking, to well informed and virtuous minds, the falsehood of its statements and its detestable sentiments, carry with them their antidote. While this sage writer sees no hope

of success in any war with America which should fail to arouse the slaves to general insurrection, in the excitement of these people to a murderous contest for liberty, he discerns the means of a short and easy conclusion of the struggle: 'A conclusion in every way honorable and advantageous to England, and in the highest degree desirable to the whole human race.'

"'America, (he says) in one respect, is the most sinful nation in the world; and in her sin, as Divine and retributive justice ordinarily provides, she finds her weakness and her punishment. She holds nearly three millions of unoffending human creatures in the most cruel bondage; in a thraldom infinitely worse than Egyptian, Turkish, or Sclavonian. In fact, we doubt if the annals of the human race afford an example of any system of oppression at all approaching to that which is proved, on the clearest, fullest, and most irrefragable evidence, to exist in a country which vaunts itself to be the freest nation on the face of the earth.'

"After quoting evidence concerning the atrocities of American slavery, from a work entitled '*Slavery and the Internal Slave Trade in the United States*,' by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, a work as fairly and justly representing American slavery and the American character, as the records of the London police offices, the trials at the Old Bailey, or the *Newgate Calender*, would the character of the English people, and introducing the shocking details of two cases, in which colored men, murderers, had been burnt by mobs, with the remark, 'We will adduce only a sample or two of what seems a common practice in the slave states of America,' he adds:—

"'Such, then, is the sin and weakness of America. It

may be a doubtful point, how far another nation would be justified, in a time of peace, in embarking in a crusade of philanthropy, and endeavoring to force an independent people into the relinquishment of a national sin. But what possible doubt can exist as to the propriety, the expediency—nay, the absolute duty, of making a war subservient to the great and pre-eminent object of freeing these three millions of cruelly oppressed human beings?

"'Policy, too, not less than philanthropy, prescribes such a course of warfare. By this mode, and this only, a war with America might be brought to a speedy and inevitably triumphant close. As we have already observed, a struggle between the people of England and their descendants in America, must be a fearful, a protracted, and a lamentable one. But if assailed in this quarter, a vital point is instantly and surely reached—the Union is dissolved, and the war is at an end.

"'Among the three millions of slaves, we may fairly calculate the adult males at nearly one million. Every man of all this multitude would eagerly rush to embrace an emancipating invader, and within a few days' sail of the coast, repose the free and happy blacks of Jamaica. In one morning a force of ten thousand men might be raised in this quarter, for the enfranchisement of their brethren in America. * * * *

"'We say, that this course is dictated alike by policy, by self-preservation, and by philanthropy. By policy—for nothing would render our own possessions so secure as a dissolution of the Union—an inevitable result of this line of action. By self-preservation—for England must not venture to involve herself in a protracted contest in a distant quarter of the globe. By philanthropy—which tells us that if, contrary to our own inclina-

tions, we are dragged into this unnatural war, it is our duty at least to endeavor to bring good out of evil. In whatever way, then, we contemplate the subject, we come to this conclusion:

"'If we must have a war with America, let us make it a war for the emancipation of the slaves; so shall our success be certain, and our triumph the triumph of humanity.'

"Some indignation we might feel at these remarks, were they not absolutely ludicrous, and the parting counsels to the English Government to take possession of Cuba, such as might produce smiles rather than anger in the United States.

"'Now,' he observes, 'England could, if she chose, very speedily put an end to slavery.

"'The three great markets for slaves—to supply which the trade is kept up—are the United States, Brazil, and Cuba. The first of these, we feel persuaded, will be broken up whenever a war breaks out; and even without a war, the system would lead to some dreadful internal convulsion before long. But the last of these, Cuba, is open to our approaches even at this moment.

"'Cuba belongs to the crown of Spain. But what is the crown of Spain?—a shadow.

"'It is abundantly obvious that England could add Cuba to her colonies to-morrow, if she chose to do so. But could she do so with justice and honor? Most unquestionably she might. Has not England expended upon Spain, within the last twenty years, many millions of sterling money,' &c.

"From works more grave, such as the *British Critic*, the *Eclectic Review*, and the *Congregational Magazine*, the pages of which are enriched by the thoughts of sober

and charitable divines, recent passages might be cited showing that even enlightened minds in England are misinformed or misled on the subject of American slavery, and the Colonization Society. They consider '*American slavery as it is*,' and the work on '*Slavery and the internal slave trade in the United States*,' as giving a just general view of that slavery, whereas a detail of crime connected with the manufacturing, or poor-law systems of England, would give as just a view of those systems. I have no wish to recriminate. But a remedy for our censoriousness towards the faults of others may often be found in reflection upon our own; and Divine wisdom instructs us that to condemn the sins of others is no virtue, while guilty ourselves of doing the same things. Besides, he who is ignorant of the sentiments of others towards him, or disregards them, will find that purity of motive does not always give him influence, and that his good intentions will find the door closed, unless humility, discretion, and charity, have first opened it. Let, then, the pious and philanthropic of England, her learned and venerable clergy, imagine with what sentiments they would peruse, in an American magazine, or review, the following article, and they will understand the impressions which the passages we have quoted will make upon the American people.

"'A WAR WITH ENGLAND A BLESSING TO MANKIND.

"'The arrogance, pride, and selfishness of the English nation are insufferable. We are no friends to war, but are not sure that a declaration of hostilities against this haughty and oppressive power, is not a duty to ourselves and to mankind. With high professions of respect to justice and the rights of man, England has for centuries

continued to violate both to an incredible extent, and without remorse. Think of her conduct towards this country. Compare it with our own towards her (the best English statesmen themselves being judges,) in the great contest of the revolution.

"'The Earl of Chatham said—'Your ministers have gone to Germany, they have sought the alliance and assistance of every pitiful, beggarly, insignificant, petty prince, to cut the throats of their legal, brave, and injured brethren in America. They have entered into mercenary treaties. They have let the savages of America loose upon their unoffending brethren; loose upon the weak, the aged, and defenceless; on old men, women, and children; on the very babes upon the breast; to be cut, mangled, sacrificed, boiled, roasted, nay, to be literally eaten. These, my Lords, are the allies Great Britain now has. Carnage, desolation, and destruction wherever her arms are carried, is her newly adopted mode of making war. Our ministers have made alliances at the German shambles; and with the barbarians of America, with the merciless torturers of their species. Where they will next apply, I cannot tell. Was it by letting loose the savages of America, to imbrue their hands in the blood of our enemies, that the duties of the soldier, the citizen, and the man, came to be united. Is this honorable warfare, my Lords? Does it correspond with the language of the poet? 'The pride, pomp, circumstance, of glorious war, that makes ambition virtue.'

"'The Duke of Richmond said—'But, my Lords, I wish to turn your eyes to another part of this business. I mean the dreadful inhumanities with which this war is carried on; shocking beyond description to every feeling

of a Christian, or of a man. If ever a nation shall deserve to draw down on her the Divine vengeance of her sins, it will be this, if she suffers such horrid war to continue. To me, who think we have been originally in the wrong, it appears doubly unpardonable; but even supposing we were right, it is certainly we who produce the war; and I do not think any consideration of dominion or empire sufficient to warrant the sacrifices we make to it. To arm negro slaves against their masters, to arm savages who we know will put their prisoners to death in the most cruel tortures, and literally eat them, is not, in my opinion, a fair war against fellow-subjects.'

"'Col. Barre said—'The Americans have been branded in this house with every opprobrious epithet that meanness could invent—termed cowardly and inhuman. Let us mark the proof. They have obliged as brave a General as ever commanded a body of British troops, to surrender—such is their cowardice. And instead of throwing chains upon these troops, they have nobly given them their freedom—such is their inhumanity.'

"'Mr. Burke observed—'The Americans had been always represented as cowards; this was far from being true; and he appealed to the conduct of Arnold and Gates, towards General Burgoyne, as a striking proof of their bravery. Our army was totally at their mercy. We had employed the savages to butcher them, their wives, their aged parents, and their children; and yet, generous to the last degree, they gave our men leave to depart on their parole, never more to bear arms against North America. Bravery and cowardice could never inhabit the same bosom; generosity, valor, and humanity, are ever inseparable. Poor, indeed, the Americans

were, but in this consists their greatest strength. Sixty thousand men had fallen at the feet of their voluntary poverty.'

"'And what has since been her conduct? Having driven us into a war in defence of our maratime rights, which we nobly vindicated on that ocean that she vainly imagined was her own, she has recently again violated those rights in the African seas, as though *she only* sought to overthrow the slave-trade, and to monopolize all credit in abolishing it, might violate the law of nations. Has she not, in time of peace, and on our own soil, burnt our property and murdered our citizens? Witness the affair of the *Caroline*. Not content with denouncing us as infamous before the world for an evil which, from mere mercenary motives, she forced upon us, in the days of our weakness and her tyrannous control, her ecclesiastical bodies would exclude, on account of this evil, from Christian fellowship, nearly one half the churches of this Union, and as if growing more hardened in iniquity, she dares to speak not of a magnanimous and open war, but (unparalleled atrocity!) of exciting our slaves to insurrection — of lighting the flames of servile war throughout all the southern states of this confederacy. And who are those that, with more than savage ferocity, would introduce amongst us all the horrors which, a few years ago, darkened the heavens, and made red with the blood of indiscriminate massacre, the fields of St. Domingo? Our enlightened, Christian, English brethren!! A people who boast of the treasures of their wisdom and the purity of their faith; who are justly proud of the immortal names of Shakspeare and Milton, of Bacon and Burke, of Hanway and Howard and Wilberforce. But has England no sins to answer for, that she should take the work

of retribution into her hands, and inflict the Divine vengeance upon our guilty heads? What nation was it, that through several of its successive monarchs, two centuries ago, called for subscriptions to joint-stock companies for the prosecution of the slave trade in order to supply laborers to her American plantations? What nation, that in 1713, formed a treaty with Spain, which, in the words of Lord Brougham, 'the execrations of ages have left inadequately censured,' by which it was stipulated that she should introduce 4,800 negroes into his Catholic Majesty's dominions, for the space of thirty years successively? What nation that, for a long period, employed from one hundred and fifty to two hundred ships in the slave trade, and carried off on the average forty thousand negroes annually; at times, one half more, and which is stated by Anderson, in his *History of Trade and Commerce*, about 1753, to have supplied her American colonies with negro slaves, amounting in number to above one hundred thousand every year? It is the nation of which Mr. Pitt said, 'The truth is, there is no nation in Europe which has plunged so deeply into this guilt as Britain. *We* stopped the natural progress of civilization in Africa. *We* cut her off from the opportunity of improvement. *We* kept her down in a state of darkness, bondage, ignorance, and bloodshed. We have thus subverted the whole order of nature; we have aggravated every natural barbarity, and furnished to every man motives for committing, under the slave trade, acts of perpetual hostility against his neighbor. Thus had the perverson of British commerce carried misery instead of happiness to one whole quarter of the globe.'

"'And has England, by extraordinary acts of merit, so atoned for these enormous wrongs, so cleansed her gar-

ments from the blood of Africa, as to be entitled to carry revolution into foreign states? Even in her boasted act of West Indian emancipation, she violated (as Granville Sharp, the venerated father of abolition in England, would have said,) the rights of her own subjects in denying them a representation in her national legislature. Her liberality of compensation we admit. But by what authority of justice, while conferring personal freedom on one people, does she hold in political servitude another. She treated with contempt the remonstrances and petitions of her American colonies against the slave trade, and now she presumes to dictate to these colonies, risen to independent States, where and how they shall abolish slavery on pain of her high displeasure.

"'And has she no evils at home to remedy, that she must cross the ocean to excite civil and servile war in America? Let her look to India, to South Africa, to every remote province of her empire, and see the foot-prints of desolation, or the signals of dismay or sorrow wherever she has conquered. Whole tribes and nations have wasted away before her—while more than a hundred millions bow their necks to her arbitrary and iron will. What is the condition of Ireland? More than 2,000,000 of her people in rags and wretchedness, and compelled to solicit charity for at least half the year. And what is done to give religious instruction to three millions, speaking only the Irish language? And what political rights has Ireland? Out of three counties, containing more than 1,000,000 of inhabitants, there are a little more than 4,000 voters. Little better is the condition of things in England. Ground to the dust by taxation, to support a Government the most lavish for expenditure in the world, no provision is made for gene-

ral education, and thousands are transported annually for crimes of which ignorance may be regarded as the parent. An overgrown aristocracy, vast wealth, and boundless luxury, are here seen in contrast with ignorance, misery, and starvation. Talk of American slavery, while in one city of Great Britain, and that not the largest, 16,000 persons are found seeking food and shelter in a single year; while typhus fever, produced by destitution, is never absent, and when an able physician, writing of Limerick, says, (in reference to the houses in the worst part of the old town,) 'I myself have known several of those houses occupied by eight, nine, eleven, thirteen, and I have heard that some of them are occupied by sixteen families. I have seen three families living together in a room scarcely seven feet square! It would, indeed, be a most interesting subject for investigation, and one which I am sure would tend to great practical good, an inquiry into the condition of these poor strugglers — the number to each house — the rents they pay — their mode of obtaining a livelihood, and other particulars regarding them; but I fear I should not be able to devote sufficient time to it. Here, amid broken bannisters, falling staircases, sinking floors, and shattered roofs that admit every blast, may be witnessed every variety of privation, misery, and suffering in all its horror, which it is possible for the human mind to contemplate. I have read all that has been written on the condition of the poor in Scotland and other places, and in nothing they describe do they exceed what is exhibited in Limerick. I have seen a wretched mother lying sick on a mat, in the corner of a garret, her only covering a few rags — without a drop to wet her lips for three days, but cold water; her husband dead, and three little

children on the floor, who were frequently eight and forty hours without tasting a morsel of food. But this last is by no means an uncommon occurrence among them, and sometimes the interval passed without food is much longer. I have seen children not otherwise unhealthy, fall into a dropsical state, and die from the absolute debility produced by repeated abstinence. I have known a wretched young creature, a widow, without clothing, food, or fire, when every rag was pledged, place her dying infant between her lower limbs in its last moments, in a position which is not easy to describe, in order to keep some warmth in it while it was expiring.' Thrice happy are slaves, so far as physical comfort is concerned, in America, compared with the thousands perishing for want in this kingdom. And then her manufactories. But more than enough—her people are beginning to open their eyes—the 'hereditary bondmen of Ireland,' as Mr. O'Connell has it, will not always be slaves. Her old, rotten institutions must give way—the sooner they are in the dust the better. Let us, for the sake of Ireland and India, for freedom and humanity, declare war, and millions will clap their hands. At all events, England should know that an attempt on her part to rouse the slaves to insurrection, will unite every American against her, nor will they rest until the Canadas shall be released from their chains, and not an Englishman left on the shores of the new world. The pride of England must be humbled. Our voice, then, is for war, and we conclude, as we began, 'a war with England a blessing to mankind.'"

"If an Englishman turns from this article with abhorrence or disdain, let him consider that the language I have quoted from recent publications in this country,

more malignant, and certainly not more just, must excite similar sentiments in the American mind. And is it by such publications that England and America are to be united in works of piety and philanthropy? Will mutual attacks upon character, the application to each other of undeserved censures and cruel reproaches, bind us more in amity together? By concealing each other's virtues, and exaggerating and gladly holding up in the face of Heaven each other's faults, shall we become wiser and better, and show more impressively to the world the meekness and power of Christian love?

"Suppose a society established in the United States, for the avowed purpose of effecting a revolution in England by inflaming the passions of her laboring classes, insisting upon their right to share equally with the nobility in the government of the empire; that the lands ought to be their own, which they have so long cultivated for very inadequate rewards; putting arms into the hands of her Chartist population, and maintaining that it was utterly repugnant to the democratic spirit of Christianity, that thousands should pine in workhouses, or starve out of them, while others, no better than they, dwell in palaces and drink wine out of bowls; and that a throne, based upon the miseries of the people, should be overturned by their hands; suppose they should collect all reports of crime and suffering, throw the responsibility for their existence upon those in power, and pronounce all authority in England null and void before God: would the good and wise in this country have patience with such a Society, welcome to their shore its agents, or distribute its publications? I suspect such interference in the national concerns of England by the people of a foreign state, would be likely to add new tenants to the prisons, or send out

additional companies of disconsolate, if not chained captives, to till the soil of her Majesty's Australian dominions.

"I shall not argue the point whether such a society in America, would furnish an exact parallel to the Abolition Society of England, for my object is but to say, that the movements of the latter, so far as directed to excite the slave population to insurrection, or in any way to coerce emancipation, are regarded, universally, in America, with detestation and horror. And here, I may be permitted to correct some of the errors in the quotations I have cited from recent English publications, and which I fear may have been adopted too extensively in England concerning American slavery and the American Union.

"*First.* The idea propagated by the *Times*, as well as various other papers, that the consequence of war would be a speedy dissolution of the American Union is wholly false—on the contrary, nothing could strengthen the American Union like war with a foreign power. The bonds uniting the several states of that union can be relaxed and broken only (if at all) by internal dissensions in days of peace.

"*Second.* To represent the citizens of the southern states of America as *generally* guilty of rigorous, inhuman conduct towards their slaves, is an outrage upon truth as well as charity. If my testimony, derived from extensive personal observation, be called in question, I appeal to the venerable bishops of the Episcopal Church, in those states, to confirm it, and desire those who would try the question to seek their testimony on the subject. Much oppression doubtless exists, but a concern for the physical comfort, religious instruction, and ultimate freedom of the slave population is increasing, and will continue I trust, more and more, to increase.

"*Third.* Neither fanaticism nor mistaken philanthropy

may gratify itself with the idea, that the slave population of America are one and all ready to fly to arms against their masters, at the bidding of a foreign foe. Not a few have too much sense to do this, not a few too much piety, and a large proportion, probably, would prefer the protection of humane masters whom they know, to a foreign soldiery if such could be landed (which it could not be,) of which they know nothing.

"*Fourth.* The idea of securing freedom to the slaves, by urging them to insurrection, and aiding them in the work, is a dream of *his* folly, or insanity, who might smile at the conflagration of cities, or the destruction of nations. Cruel to all classes in America, especially to the slaves, should it once rouse them to action, unimaginable evils must be brought upon society, probably utter ruin upon themselves. All this is clear to those who can think, and for others I do not write. Fidelity and good conduct on the part of slaves, will prove their best passport to liberty; and far wiser is it for them to rely upon the justice and kindness of their own masters, under the growing influences of Christianity, than upon the interference of foreign philanthropists.

"And here, I conclude what I have to say on the errors connected with this subject, by the remark, that the various compound poisons, as Coleridge terms them, circulated to excite discontent in the humbler classes, who receive but a small share of the fruits of society, appear to me, to have been in great demand among the Anti-Slavery Societies both of England and America.

"'*First.* Bold, warm, and earnest assertions, it matters not whether supported by facts or not; nay, though they should involve absurdities and demonstrable impossibilities.

"'*Second.* Startling particular facts, which, dissevered

from their context, enable a man to convey falsehood while he says truth.

"'*Third.* Arguments built on passing events, and deriving an undue importance from the feelings of the moment.

"'*Fourth.* The display of the defects, without the accompanying advantages, or *vice versa.*

"'*Fifth.* Concealment of the general ultimate result behind the scenery of local and particular consequences.

"'*Sixth.* Statement of positions that are true, under particular conditions, to men whose ignorance or fury make them forget that these conditions are not present, or lead them to take for granted that they are.

"'*Seventh.* Chains of questions, especially such questions as the persons best authorized to propose, are ever the slowest in proposing; and objections intelligible of themselves, the answers to which require the comprehension of a system.

"'*Eighth.* Vague and common place satire,' &c.

"I am aware that the exhibition of particular errors, and the correction of them, is not absolutely necessary to my argument, though I trust not impertinent to the general object of this letter. I have sought to show that the elements of a general union are with the friends of African civilization and colonization, and not with the Abolitionists. These elements may respect the instrumentalities, and the particular end. Agreeing mainly in both, the former (the friends of civilization and colonization,) may expect to unite to them the mind and energy of the people of the southern States of America, a matter vitally important to the interests and hopes of the slaves, to any extensive union of their friends in that country; and of highest consequence to the civilization

of Africa. Agreeing already in the field for their operations, in the agents to be employed, in many of the subordinate means to be used, in the great principles of Christian discretion to be adopted, and the grandeur of their design — the moral and intellectual elevation of an entire race of men — time and experience will, I trust, perfect their union — correct any irregularities, supply any defects in their policy, and show the embodied wisdom and power of two great nations, harmoniously working for the civilization and salvation of Africa.

"I have but alluded to the effects to be produced by the civilization of Africa upon the commerce of the world. To England, by opening a vast market for the innumerable products of her manufacturing skill; and to America, by creating large demands for the fruits of her agriculture, the benefit would be inestimable.

"Gentlemen—to you, as justly possessed of the public confidence in your respective countries, and presiding, the one over the American Colonization Society, the other over the African Civilization Society, I venture to address this letter, in the hope, that the institutions you represent will gather around them the affections and strength of England and America — that minor differences of opinion will be merged in a common sensibility to the wrongs and miseries of the Africans — that these institutions, already agreeing in most things, may soon concur in all — that, mutually imparting to each other the results of their inquiries and experience, the pathway of both may become brighter with wisdom and beneficence — that liberty to the whole African race may follow in their footsteps — that among their blessings may arise a holy and inextinguishable spirit of amity between the Christian people of England and the United

States; that future ages may behold and admire, in the civilization of the most barbarous quarter of the world — the morally renovated character, the political elevation and independence of her now rude and enslaved sons — the efficacy of generous motives, supplied by philanthropy, to produce self-discipline, to train and exalt depressed and darkened minds — and, finally, that they may discern light cast upon the mysteries of that Almighty Ruler who subverts or builds up empires, and extending his decrees through all space and eternity, often educes the fairest forms of a new creation, from the chaos of turbulent events, disordered passions, perverse counsels, and untold calamity; and while lifting their voices of praise to that God who left his chosen family for centuries under the oppressor's rod, that he might bring them forth, attended by art and civilization, from the magnificent cities of Egypt to their promised home, the anthems of a devout thanksgiving may break out from the habitations and temples of Africa, to augment and surpass all other songs of earth before his throne; and that the benignant Father of all men may rejoicingly cast his eye upon that land, made beautiful as the gardens of Solomon and the gates of Zion.

"Well do I know that not a few ardent and judicious philanthropists condemn the recent policy of the African Civilization Society, and of the English Government, believing that the Niger expedition will secure no advantages to compensate for the large expenditure, and the probable, nay, almost certain loss of life. Possibly the funds applied to fit out and defray the expenses of this expedition, might have been more usefully employed in improving and extending settlements or colonies already founded in Africa. But I am not sure of this, and I have

no disposition to find fault. Much valuable information will be acquired, I trust, also great and good results secured by this expedition. Whether it proceeds on the most economical plan, or with the best instructions, I am incompetent, being without information, to judge.* I wish it all possible success; and I fervently pray, that the generous conduct of the English Government, in this case, may be soon imitated by the Government of my own country.

"In retiring from all public connection with a cause to which the best powers of my mind, and the best years of my life have been devoted, I have felt impelled, I trust by a deep sense of duty, to submit these thoughts to you, gentlemen, and to the friends of Africa, and her afflicted children, in England and the United States. If they contribute in the least to allay animosity, to promote truth, justice, and charity; if in a single mind they awaken a more powerful sympathy for a people bound in chains, and trodden in the dust; if to a single unfortunate man of color they reveal, even faintly, and in the distance, the star of hope for himself, and the ancient and once renowned mother-land of his progenitors, and rouse him to the high ambition of rebuilding her ruins, and restoring to her embrace her long-lost children; if they impress upon the masters of slaves the great and universal law of Christ, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;' if, finally, (and would that I could hope so much,) they should incline American and English philanthropists to unity of opinion, to mutual and friendly co-operation

* Many of the facts which are presented in the following pages, in regard to this expedition, had not appeared, or were unknown to me, when this letter was written.

on the same plan, because the best plan for the civilization of Africa and the elevation of all her people, I shall not have lived in vain.

"I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

"Very respectfully, your friend, &c., &c.,

"R. R. GURLEY.

"*April* 30, 1841."

From the time that the most prominent members of the General Committee of the African Civilization Society evinced an indisposition to give a decided public approbation to the views and measures of the American Colonization Society, I had anxiously sought to secure an organization, which might aid, by discussions and explanations and the correction of erroneous impressions, to unite harmoniously these two kindred institutions. I was persuaded that a committee in London, appointed and empowered to represent to the people of Great Britain the real views of the friends of Africa in America, and who should embrace in their plans, as well the colonization as civilization of Africa, and reserve to themselves, the right of expending their funds, in such way, and for such specific object, as might be judged most expedient for the relief and elevation of the Africans, would prove of benefit to the Civilization and Colonization Societies, to America and England, to the home population of Africa, and her children in exile in many lands. I sought unremittingly to induce a few able friends to undertake the formation of such a committee. It seemed probable that, under the auspices of such a committee, access might be obtained to assemblies of the people, and the illusions of error be dissipated. Several meetings of conference

were held; and, on one occasion, I prepared for consideration the following preamble and resolutions:

"*Whereas*, it is a matter of great importance to unite the opinions and exertions of English and American philanthropists in one and the same general policy for the relief of the African race, and the colonization and civilization of Africa:

"*Resolved*, That a permanent committee be now appointed, with full power to add to their number, to make their own bye-laws and regulations, and to adopt all such measures, and carry into effect all such plans, as they may judge best, to conciliate opinions and efforts between England and America on this subject, and to promote the best interests of the African race in all lands, and especially the colonization and civilization of Africa.

"*Resolved*, That it be the duty of this committee, which shall be entitled the "General Committee for the relief of the African race and the colonization and civilization of Africa," to co-operate with all similar and kindred associations, and to apply its funds in such way, and through such channels as they may judge best for effecting their objects."

Those who were prepared to approve the objects thus proposed, were disinclined to incur responsibilities without some fair prospect of success, and thought it wiser to trust to the progress of light among the members of the Civilization Society, than to attempt by a distinct organization to supply their defects; and by producing changes in public sentiment, either compel them to modify their plans, or see diverted from them a portion of popular favor. Their judgment in this case was regretted by the writer, who deemed it of high import, that the phi-

lanthropy of England should know, that for the civilization of Africa, no means could be found so effective as that of founding free governments and Christian institutions through the agency of her own emancipated and instructed children. Nor would the cause of general humanity have been lightly benefitted by the removal from the English mind of those deplorable prejudices regarding the colored race in the United States, thickly sown by our countrymen, and which are seeds of evil, already growing into fierce antipathies, if not relentless hostility.

That the Society, over which Sir T. F. Buxton presides, for the "extinction of the slave trade, and the civilization of Africa," originated in benevolence, is conducted on Christian principles, and fraught with blessings inestimable to Africa, I can entertain no doubt. From the most careful inquiries and examinations, my original opinion of its excellence has undergone no change, unless by confirmation. The Society embraces noblemen and gentlemen of all political opinions, of different religious sects, and from every part of the kingdom. In their prospectus, issued in February, 1840, they declare "It is the unanimous opinion of this Society, that the only complete cure of all these evils is the introduction of the Christian religion into Africa. They do not believe that any less powerful remedy will entirely extinguish the present inducements to trade in human beings, or will afford to the inhabitants of those extensive regions a sure foundation for repose and happiness.

"But they are aware that a great variety of views may exist as to the manner in which religious instruction should be introduced; distinctly avowing, therefore, that the substitution of our pure and holy faith for the false

religion, idolatry, and superstitions of Africa, is, in their firm conviction the true ultimate remedy for the calamities that afflict her, they are most anxious to adopt every measure which may eventually lead to the establishment of Christianity throughout that continent; and hoping to secure the co-operation of all, they proceed to declare that the grand object of their association is *the extinction of the slave trade.*"

The plan of Sir T. F. Buxton, which is that of the Civilization Society, embraces a wide range, and is of a very general character. It contemplates the aid of the English government, and of missionary, and other societies. The committee early co-operated with Mr. Buxton in inducing her Majesty's government to send an expedition to the Niger, "with the view of obtaining most accurate information as to the state of the countries bordering on its mighty waters." It is expected that the report of this expedition will open a vast region for benevolent and Christian enterprize, and that effectual measures may then be adopted by the government, the Civilization Society, an African Agricultural Company, which it is proposed to establish, and by various humane and missionary associations.

The operations of the "Society for the extinction of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa," will be directed less to any one specific object, than by the collection and diffusion of information, the suggestion of plans, the encouragement of all benevolent measures for the suppression of the traffic in slaves, and the elevation of the people of Africa, to stimulate the British nation to apply its powers and resources for the civilization of that continent.

It relies upon the government to strengthen and

concentrate its naval force upon the African coast; to obtain possession of Fernando Po and other commanding positions, as stations for such force; to form treaties with the rulers of Africa for the abolition of the slave traffic, and to take upon itself the expense of protecting all settlements formed by the people of England, in Africa, for instructing her inhabitants in agriculture, commerce, the arts, letters, and religion.

It looks to an Agricultural company to occupy suitable tracts of land, to be obtained by treaty from the natives, upon which colonization may be encouraged, and the cultivation of the most valuable products of the soil.

It solicits the assistance of missionary societies to impart Divine knowledge to barbarians, and raise their dark and perverted minds from superstition and sensuality to the service and love of the true God.

It has assumed to itself the duty of aiding the outfit of the Niger expedition; of supplying it with men and means for scientific observations; for investigating the nature of the soil, climate, and productions of Africa; for collecting and preserving specimens in geology, mineralogy, and the various branches of natural history; for examining the causes of disease, and the methods of prevention; for obtaining drawings of remarkable scenes and objects; for communicating to the natives seeds, implements of husbandry, and many improvements and useful arts; and also of reporting the progress and results of this expedition; finally, of making public all facts adapted to keep alive a horror of the slave trade, and co-operating in all endeavors to introduce and sustain teachers in morals, manners, and Christianity.

In a very impressive and Christian manner, has Sir T. F. Buxton expressed his views both of the difficulty and grandeur of the proposed enterprize.

"I am not," he observes, "so sanguine as to suppose that we can at once, by a single effort, solve the problem which lies before us. The deliverance of Africa will put our patience and perseverance to no ordinary trial. We must deliberately make up our minds to persevering labors, and to severe disappointments. I wish not in any degree to conceal from myself or from others, these truths.

"But the question is, shall such an experiment be made? There are two mighty arguments which should prompt us to such an undertaking: the intense miseries of Africa, and the peculiar blessings which have been showered upon this country by the mercy of Divine Providence. With regard to the first, I need not again plunge into the sickening details of the horrors which accompany this bloody trade, and of the sanguinary rites which there bear the name of religion. Whether we look to the vast space which is there made a theatre of public misery, or calculate how many deeds of cruelty and carnage must be perpetrated every day in the year, in order to make up the surprising total of human distress, which, by indisputable documents, we know to be realized, there is enough to awaken the deepest pity, and to arouse the most energetic resolution.

"Turning to the second consideration, we cannot fail to see how signally this nation has been preserved, and led forward to an extent of power and prosperity, beyond what almost any other nation has been permitted to reach. 'It is not to be doubted that this country has been invested with wealth and power, with arts and knowledge, with the sway of distant lands and the mastery of the restless waters, for some great and important purpose in the Government of the world. Can we suppose otherwise than that it is our office to carry civilization and

humanity, peace and good government, and above all, the knowledge of the true God to the uttermost end of the earth ?" "*

After alluding to West Indian emancipation as in his judgment an act of great benefit to those raised by it from servitude, Sir T. F. Buxton eloquently adds: "A nobler achievement now invites us. I believe that Great Britain can, if she will, confer a blessing on the human race. It may be that at her bidding a thousand nations now steeped in wretchedness, in brutal ignorance, in devouring superstition, possessing but one trade, and that one the foulest evil that ever blighted public prosperity, or poisoned domestic peace, shall, under British tuition, emerge from their debasement, enjoy a long line of blessings, education, agriculture, commerce, peace, industry, and the wealth that springs from it; and, far above all, shall willingly receive that religion, which, while it confers innumerable temporal blessings, opens the way to an eternal futurity of happiness."

As some who may look into this volume, may not have examined the work of Sir T. F. Buxton, nor become acquainted with the character and proceedings of the Society over which he presides, and as I desire to do justice to that Society, I venture here to insert the names of the provisional Committee, which alone would secure to the institution a large share of confidence and respect.

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* The Rev. Mr. Whewell's sermon, before the Trinity Board.

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Every candid mind will perceive the high moral principle which pervades the work of Mr. Buxton, nor desire better security, that the scheme proposed and advocated in that work will be honestly and faithfully prosecuted, than the well known integrity of the Chairman and other members of the provisional Committee. In regard to the Niger expedition, and the policy suggested as best for the overthrow of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa, differences of opinion exist, to some extent, among the good and intelligent of England. Yet no one can hesitate to award praise both to the English Government and to the Civilization Society, for the admirable manner in which this expedition has been fitted out, and the ample provision made, in all respects, to secure its safety and success. The estimated cost to the Government is *£61,263.† The expedition consists

* Nearly $300,000.

† "NIGER EXPEDITION.—£61,263.

"Estimate of the sum which will probably be required to defray the expenses of the expedition to the river Niger, for the period ending on the 31st of March, 1841.

of three iron steamers, strongly built, in accordance with the recommendation of Sir Edward Parry, and which bear the names of the ALBERT, in honor of the Royal

"Cost of the two large vessels, including engines, masts, rigging, sails, anchors, cables, and fixtures, £24,000; cost of the smaller vessel, including the same, £6,600.

"For each vessel, one complete suit of spare sails, and of awnings; a set of side awning, curtains, and a chevaux-de-frise; an additional spare cable, and felting the boilers, and hooping them with wood, £1,046.

"Extra fittings, and recent improvements, viz: a boat over each paddle-box, as fitted in the *Firefly*, estimated by Captain Trotter at £300 to £320; Seward's guage, for ascertaining the saltness of the water in the boilers, estimated at £40; a break, or compresser, for paddle wheels, as fitted in the *Gorgon* and *Cyclops*, and apparatus for throwing out hot water from the boilers, for defence against the natives, £240; for oil-cloth for the decks, £70 to £100.

"For improving the ventilation, viz: fans for the three vessels with wheels, &c., £35 each, £105; pipes and tubes, £100 for each vessel, £300; fittings up and contingencies, £95; expenses of Dr. Reed, and remuneration to him, £100.

"One superior life-boat, the cost of which is estimated at from £80 to £100; for the purchase of canoes in Africa, for heading the vessel, for soundings, and for sending intelligence, and helping the vessels in case of their getting aground; together with a sum for the purchase of a shell of a small vessel at Sierra Leone, to take the Quorra, £300.

"Tent equipage, for putting the sick on shore under cover, £442.

"Tools for blasting rocks, £140; diving helmet, £100; spades, plug-bolts, and entrenching tools, £90; axes and saws for felling trees for supply of fuel, £150.

"Mathematical and philosophical instruments, including two chronometers, packing, and contingencies, £344; additional instruments for examining the channel and determining points of shoals and shores, £300; fitting up of compasses on Professor Airy's plan, so as to counteract the effect of local attraction, £100 for each vessel, £300.

President of the Society; WILBERFORCE, in memory of that great philanthropist; and the SOUDAN, (or, more correctly, Habíb-es-Sudan,) or Friend of the Blacks.

"For books, maps, musical instruments, portable kitchen, with small articles, packing, and contingencies, £340; for journeys of the commissioners to Liverpool, and elsewhere, on service, £200; for fitting up of the cabin for the commissioners, £100 to £117.

"Presents to the African chiefs, £3,000; and for packing and contingencies, £300.

"Gunners', carpenters', and boatswains' stores for 12 months, for the three vessels, to be supplied from Her Majesty's dockyards, and ordnance department, £4,000.

"Engineers' stores for 12 months, for the three vessels, to be supplied from Her Majesty's dockyards, £1,000.

"Carriage of boatswains', carpenters', and engineers' stores to Africa, £355.

"Medical stores for the period it may be expected the ships may stay out, including bedding and other necessaries for the sick, and medicines to dispense to the natives, £300.

"Coals at Liverpool, Falmouth, Lisbon, Cape de Verde, Sierra Leone, Fernando Po, and Ascension, including a large supply to be taken to Fernando Po, for assisting the passage up the river, and to Ascension and Sierra Leone, for use on the return of the expedition, £4,778.

"Ordinary provisions for 12 months, £2,648; preserved meats and soups, to be served out to the crew instead of fresh provisions, £1,104; carriage of provisions to Fernando Po, and Sierra Leone, and from Sierra Leone to the mouth of the river, £726; expense of taking care of provisions and of stores at Fernando Po, and elsewhere, £220.

"Salaries to commissioners and secretary, and additional allowance to chaplain and head surgeon, £4,000; clerk to the commissioners, £100 to £130.

"Double wages for 12 months for 160 men, officers and crew, in the steam vessels, deducting the half-pay now enjoyed by the officers to be employed, £15,796; additional pay to engineers, when steam is up within the tropics, agreeably to Admiralty Regulations, say for six months, £675.

The dimensions of these vessels, the two larger being of the same size and power, and with their stores alike, are as follows:

	Albert and Wilberforce.		Soudan.	
	ft.	in.	ft.	in.
Length on deck,	136		110	
Breadth of beam,	27		22	
Depth of hold,	10		8	6
Draught of water,	5	9	4	
Tonnage, about	440 tons.		250 tons.	

Two sliding keels 6 feet deep.

"Each of the larger vessels has two engines of thirty-five horse power each, and can carry coals for fifteen days, (of twelve hours.) The smaller has one engine of thirty-five horse power, and can carry coals for ten days. The vessels have as roomy and airy accommodations as their size would permit. The Soudan is intended for detached service, when required, up smaller rivers, for conveying intelligence or invalids, and especially for sounding ahead of the other vessels in difficult or unknown navigation.

"The vessels are thoroughly equipped with every necessary, nay, every comfort, that prudence or foresight could dictate. The supply of provisions of all kinds is most ample, including preserved meats, chiefly prepared

"Wages and victuals for 120 Kroomen, or other African sailors, to be entered at Sierra Leone, and to be employed during the stay of the expedition in Africa, say for nine months; 11 of them to be paid as stokers, or 1st class petty officers, and the remainder as able or ordinary seamen or landsmen, as may be deemed expedient, £3,342.

"Wages and victuals to the interpreters throughout the expedition, including those who may be taken from Sierra Leone, £700.

"One month's gratuity to such Kroomen and interpreters as may have served faithfully and zealously during the whole of the expedition, to be paid on their return from it, £200."—*African Colonizer*.

by Goldner, and sufficient for the support of the crew for four months.

"For the purpose of enabling the medical officers of the expedition to render their services useful to the natives, an extra quantity of medicines has been furnished to each of the ships; and from the great respect, if not veneration, in which the healing art is held throughout Africa, it may be inferred that a judicious and liberal exercise of it will contribute much to the objects of the expedition.

"With the view of endeavoring to supply a remedy for the want of a free circulation of fresh air between decks in a tropical climate, and for the miasma that usually prevails in alluvial soils on those coasts, a system of ventilating tubes has been fitted, under the able superintendence of Dr. Reid. With this is connected a chamber, containing woollen cloths, lime, &c., through which it is intended, whenever the presence of malaria is suspected, the air shall pass, previously to being circulated below by the ventilating apparatus."*

The hope is indulged that, by carefully observing the effects of the malaric atmosphere on the substances in this chamber, something may be learned of this hitherto unknown, and formidable foe to life, and important benefits be thus rendered to mankind.

Captain Trotter commands this expedition; a gentleman who (reminding me, by an aspect and manner of quiet earnestness and magnanimity, of the late Mr. Ashmun, whose wisdom and piety are imprinted on all the early records of Liberia,) well exemplifies the principles and spirit of Christianity, and has already, while stationed upon the African coast, acted with great energy against slave traders and pirates, on one occasion pur-

* Friend of Africa.

suing the latter for months, then capturing and bringing them to justice, and receiving for this service to humanity, the thanks of the President of the United States.* The crews of the three vessels consist of 88 seamen and stokers, and of these not less than 20 are Africans by birth. It is expected to obtain the aid of 120 Kroomen on the coast.

Though among the officers of this expedition are gentlemen of high attainments in science, yet the Civilization Society has awakened the friends of knowledge and humanity throughout England and the continent, to the

* The following is a list of the officers in these steamers:

ALBERT.

Captain H. Dundas Trotter.	Mate, J. W. Fairholme.
Lieutenant E. G. Fishbourne.	2d Master, W. H. T. Green.
" H. C. Harston.	Clerk, W. R. Bush.
Master, G. B. Harvey.	Clerk, assistant, J. Monat.
Surgeon, J. O. M'William, M.D.	Gunner, W. Merriman.
Asst. Surg., Jas. Woodhouse.	Eng'r, John Langley, 1st class.
Purser, Wm. Bowden.	2d "
Mate, W. C. Willie.	" Jas. Brown, 3d "
" M'Leod B. Cockcraft.	

WILBERFORCE.

Commander, Wm. Allen.	Mate, H. C. Toby.
Lieutenant Jas. N. Strange.	" H. F. N. Rolfe.
Master, Wm. Forster.	Clerk, J. H. R. Webb.
Surgeon, Morris Pritchett. M.D.	Engineer, Wm. Johnstone.
Assistant Surg., T. R. H. Thomson.	1st class.
	2d "
Purser, Cyrus Wakeham.	G. Garritte, 3d "

SOUDAN.

Commander, Bird Allen.	Mate, T. W. Sidney.
Lieutenant, ———	" A. B. Davis.
Master, John Belam.	" W. R. Webb.
Surgeon, W. B. Marshall.	Master's assistant,
Asst. Surg., H. Collman.	Eng'r, G. V. Gustaffson, 1st class.
Clerk in charge, N. Waters.	Wm. Johnson, 2d "

importance of securing every advantage which may be afforded for tearing off the veil which has so long hid Africa from the observations and inquiries of the learned world. During the last autumn, Capt. Washington, Secretary of the Geographical Society, visited Germany, and, by request of the General Committee, made known the objects of the Civilization Society, and from the princes and other distinguished persons of that country, (to whom he presented the work of Mr. Buxton,) received assurances of friendly co-operation in all measures of promised relief and elevation to the people of Africa. Prince Metternich said, "Sir, there is nothing but the gospel and the plough which can civilize Africa;" and added, "The general peace, the power of steam, and the discovery of the outlet of the Niger, seem to point out the very road to which all our efforts should be directed." Individuals eminent for science and philanthropy at Bonn, Frankfort, Vienna, Dresden, Berlin, Leipsic, and many other places, entered with enthusiastic ardor into the designs of the expedition, and at Berlin "Mr. Gossner, the venerable pastor of the Bohemian church, when he had heard all the objects of the Society, and its plans and hopes for the melioration of Africa, fell down on his knees, and blessed God that he had lived to see the day that the dearest wish of his heart was about to be carried into execution." The venerable Humboldt manifested a deep concern for the prosperity of the Society and the success of the expedition.

The commanders of these steamers, with Capt. Cook, (known for his humane exertions to rescue the crew of the Kent East Indiaman, when on fire at sea,) are commissioners, appointed by the English Government to form treaties with the native powers.

While every physical want of this expedition has been generously provided for by the Government, the General Committee of the Civilization Society have neglected no means, and spared no expense, to secure the services of able men in the several departments of natural history.

Dr. Vogel, late acting Director of the botanic garden at Bonn, and recommended both for his abilities and "excellent moral qualities," by the learned Humboldt, and who unites skill in science to practical knowledge of horticulture, goes out as botanist to the expedition.

Mr. Roscher, a practical miner, educated at the Academy of Mines in Freiberg, (the school of Humboldt and Werner,) is appointed geologist and mineralogist to the same.

Mr. Frazer, a young naturalist, (who has been curator in the Zoological Society in London,) will examine, collect, and preserve specimens from a region unexplored by any adept in his department.

A practical gardener and seedsman is employed, who goes entrusted with the most useful seeds and plants and is instructed to explain their uses, and teach the natives the modes of cultivation.

A draughtsman also accompanies the expedition to furnish sketches of various objects, and of the scenery and features of the country.

In the arrangements thus made for the advantage of science the Civilization Society incurs an expense very considerably exceeding £1,000.*

The committee have also (aided by M. D'Avezac, of Paris, and two Ashantee princes who have been receiving education at the expense of the British Government in England,) and Mr. De Graft, a native Fanti, prepared a

* About $5,000.

printed vocabulary of six African languages, spoken in the countries bordering on the Niger, and also forwarded to Sierra Leone and Cape Coast Castle for translation a series of medical enquiries prepared by Dr. M'William.

The eyes of the friends of science in England have been directed from many points towards this expedition, and counsel and assistance cheerfully granted by learned men and societies in the preparation of instruments and the suggestion of modes for their most accurate and convenient use. The *Royal Society* undertook to superintend the construction of magnetic instruments and furnished instructions for observing the magnetic influences in Africa.

The medical gentlemen of the expedition take with them an ample supply of the vaccine matter, (a large portion carefully put up by Mr. Ceely of Aylesbury, who has acquired reputation by his experiments, showing the identity of small pox and cow pox,) and no pains will be spared in making known at every place in Africa which may be visited, the mode of disarming one of the most fatal diseases of its destructive power.

By a careful analysis by Professor Daniell, of King's College, London, and other chemists, of the water brought from many different parts of the African coast, and from the mouths of African rivers, it is ascertained that several of them contain a very extraordinary quantity of sulphuretted hydrogen gas, (at Cape Lopez of 11.69 cube inches to the gallon, and of grand Bonny of 14 cube inches per gallon,) and it is not doubted, that to the deleterious qualities of this gas, much of the disease of those regions is to be attributed. Professor Daniell has shown, by experiment, that the origin of this gas is traceable to the reaction of vegetable matter upon the sulphate of soda in sea water, and has suggested a simple mode of generating chlorine, which by decomposing this gas de-

stroys its power to injure.* While it is supposed this gas may extend along the African coast 1,000 miles, (covering some 40,000 square miles,) and some thirty or forty miles up the rivers, it is probably not found far in

* "KING'S COLLEGE, *5th February*, 1841.

"MY DEAR SIR: As any confirmation of my idea, that the unhealthiness of the African coast is dependent, in a great degree, upon the evolution of sulphuretted hydrogen, is calculated to give confidence to those who are about to start upon the expedition to the Niger, from the certainty of the means of counteraction within our power, I hasten to communicate to you the result of an experiment which certainly determines the origin of that deleterious gas to be the reaction of vegetable matters upon the sulphate of soda in sea water.

"On the 2d of November last I placed a quantity of newly fallen leaves in three glass jars capable of holding about one and a half gallons of water.

"No. 1. Upon the first I poured about a gallon of new river water.

"No. 2. Upon the second I poured about the same quantity of the same water, in which three ounces of common salt had been dissolved.

"No. 3. Upon the third, the same quantity of water in which three ounces of crystallized sulphate of soda had been dissolved.

"The three jars were then placed in a warm chamber, the temperature of which varied from about 70° to 110°, and the water was filled up from time to time, as it evaporated, and the mixture well stirred.

"Upon examining them yesterday, the following was found to be the state of the jars:—

"No. 1 had a very disagreeable odour, but produced no change whatever upon paper soaked in acetate of lead.

"No. 2 was perfectly sweet, and possessed, indeed, a rather agreeable odour. It produced no effect, of course, upon the test paper.

"No 3 had a most insupportable sickening odour, much worse than that of pure sulphuretted hydrogen, and instantly blackened paper soaked in acetate of lead, throwing down sulphuret of lead with a metallic lustre.

the interior. The expedition will make experiments at all points to ascertain the composition of the waters and how far diseases may be caused by the decomposition of vegetable matter in the water of the ocean.

The Rev. T. O. Muller, who has resided in Egypt and is familiar with the Arabic language, and in every respect well qualified for his station, is chaplain to the expedition.

Two young Ashantees, of high rank in their own coun-

"If you, or any of your friends, would like to see the experiment in its present stage, it would give me the greatest pleasure to show it.

"Now, for all this, chlorine fumigation is the certain remedy, and I have taken the liberty of sending you herewith some memoranda for conducting the process, with the earnest hope that they may be useful to the expedition. "I remain, &c.,

"J. F. DANIELL.

"Capt. Washington, R. N.

"MEMORANDA FOR FUMIGATION BY CHLORINE.

"One part by weight of common salt, and one part of the black oxide of manganese are to be acted upon by two parts of oil of vitriol, previously mixed with one part, by weight of water, (nine measures of acid, ten of water,) and left till cold. Such a mixture will immediately begin to evolve chlorine at a temperature of 60°, and continue to do so for four days in a gradual manner, without the application of any extraneous heat.

"The vessels in which the mixture is made may be flat pans of any common earthenware.

"Three and a half pounds of the mixed salt and manganese, with four and half pounds of the mixed acid and water, are calculated to yield five and a half cubic feet of chlorine.

"In suspected situations it would be desirable to have one or two charges of three and half pounds of the salt and manganese placed on the windward side of the deck, to be renewed on every fifth day. It is, however, impossible to give directions for the exact quantity, the object being to preserve an atmosphere smelling of chlorine, but not sufficient to produce any irritation of the lungs, or coughing.

"Between the decks this kind of fumigation would be too

try, William Quantamissah and John Ansah, who have been educated at the expense of the English Government, and visited many of the manufactories, mines, cities and universities of the kingdom, return home in this expedition, much impressed and benefitted by civilization and Christianity. They were some years since given up to the English as hostages by the king of Ashantee, (one of them being his son,) and her Majesty's Government has afforded them the best advantages for improvement, in the hope that through them the arts of civilized life and the blessings of the true religion might be imparted to the most powerful nation of western Africa.* In a tour through England, under the care of the Rev. Thomas Pyne, they received the kindest attentions, "and I can only say," observes the gentleman, "that the goodness and hospitality were universal; and if ever my country appeared honorable in my eyes, it has been in witnessing the reception of these two young persons, the sons of a long oppressed race." They visited the archbishop of

strong; but pans containing chloride of lime and water would be sufficient protection. The solution, however, should be frequently renewed.

"A charge of the chlorine mixture would be very advantageously placed in the hold, if it were to be found not to produce any serious annoyance. It should also be remembered that there is nothing injurious in the odour of chlorine, provided it be not in such excess as to produce coughing.

"J. F. DANIELL.

"KING'S COLLEGE, *5th February*, 1841."

* It is quite probable that motives less praiseworthy, may also have had influence with the Government in this matter; I mean of a commercial nature. While these princes (as they were termed,) were conducted to the great works of England and made acquainted with her wealth and power, I was informed that they were not permitted to visit the continent.

Canterbury, who after conversing with them in the most obliging manner, gave them each a prayer book and his blessing. The Queen, dressed in her robes of state, and accompanied by Prince Albert, admitted them to her presence and recommended them "to endeavor to teach their people." They appeared fond of the scriptures, devout at worship in the family and at church, were amiable in temper, and grateful for benefits. They requested thanks to be presented in their name to the Government and to Sir T. F. Buxton, their constant friend, and shed tears at thought of their departure. "It was my wish," says Mr. Pyne, "to lead them to contemplate Christ as their pattern, and to accustom themselves to ask 'how would my Saviour have acted had he been in like circumstances to mine?' This, I conceive, next to the trust in the atonement, and to pray for divine guidance, will be their best rule of life."*

When we consider that the Ashantee country is supposed to contain a population of at least one million, debased by most cruel superstitions, and crushed by an absolute and remorseless despotism; that the blood of human victims is poured out in the streets of Comossie, (the capital,) and their bodies cast aside in the highway and thickets, to be devoured by wild beasts; it is impossible that we should not rejoice in the Christian education of these youths, and that they seem disposed to

* While these two young men were on their last visit to Sir T. Dyke Acland, at Killerton, Devon, this gentleman took them into his park, and, causing them to plant a tree each, on a spot where two trees had died, said: "Observe what you have done; you have planted two living trees in the place of two dead ones. Let these trees be an emblem to you, as they will be a memorial to us. See that in returning, as you so soon will do, to your country, you root up the dead tree of superstition and slavery, and plant in its stead the TREE OF LIFE."

make known to their countrymen that truth which is mighty to rebuke the crimes and subdue the ferocity of wild and savage men.*

Thousands visited these steamers while lying in the Thames, near London; and from a personal examination of the Albert, the writer can testify to the extreme care and skill exhibited in the entire structure, furniture, and arrangements of this vessel. A very handsome and valuable library (including the best works on Africa,) adorned the commodious and beautiful apartment of the commander.

His Royal Highness, Prince Albert, inspected these vessels, it being the first visit paid by him to any of Her Majesty's ships in commission, and evinced the deepest

* "THE ASHANTEES AT OXFORD.—Amongst the numerous visitors to our University during the present month, have been Prince William Quantamissah and Prince John Ansah, of Ashantee, under the guidance of the Rev. Thomas Pyne, M. A. They stayed at the Angel Hotel nearly a week, during which time they were most hospitably received by the Vice-Chancellor, the Registrar of the University, and the heads of colleges; and by many of whom they were entertained after visiting their respective colleges. Both expressed themselves exceedingly gratified by the attention shown them; and pleased with the grandeur of the different buildings. The princes are cousins, and nephews of the present Sovereign, and one of them the son of the late King, at whose funeral (said to be the grandest that has ever taken place,) no less than three thousand persons were immolated, including his wives and many of the nobility. This barbarous custom arises from the superstitious belief that it will be necessary for their Sovereigns to be attended by similar retinues when they appear before the Great Spirit, as when they walked on earth. The princes were hostages for ten years at Cape Coast, for the preservation of peace between their country and our government. They have since been baptized and become Christians, and have prayers regularly every morning and evening, with their chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Pyne."—*Oxford Herald.*

concern for the health of the officers, and for the success of their exertions. On taking the chair at the first meeting of the Society in Exeter Hall, a few months before, he had declared that he had been induced to preside on the occasion from a conviction of the paramount importance of the institution to the great interests of humanity and justice. A few days after the visit of Prince Albert to these ships, Captains Trotter, William Allen, and Bird Allen, received each a highly finished chronometer, bearing the following inscription:

"Presented by his Royal Highness, Prince Albert, to ——, of her Majesty's steamer ——, on his departure with the expedition to the Niger, for the abolition of the slave trade.—March 23, 1841."

The sympathies of British Christians have been generally excited, and their fervent prayers offered in behalf of this expedition. Those who compose it have manifested a becoming reverence for the Great Author of their lives and hopes, and sense of dependence upon his Providence. Two discourses are on our table, preached on board the Albert, just before her departure; the first by the chaplain, Mr. Muller, and the last by the Rev. C. F. Childe, M. A., Principal of the Church Missionary College, Islington. The words in which Mr. Childe concludes, have a solemnity and pathos well suited to the occasion.

"Go forth, brethren, in the name and strength of the Lord, and success must be yours. The manner or the time of its manifestation we may not determine. The process may be painful. You may not live to reap the fruit of your labor, but you shall not labor in vain. God calls you to the enterprize; your Sovereign's auspices invite you; your country's sympathies attend you; the

prayers of Christendom follow you; and though it be but little that the 'least of all saints' can proffer, I do earnestly and affectionately implore the God of Britain and your God, to be with you; to be your sun and shield; to give you grace and glory, so that to live, should you live, may be Christ, and to die, when you die, may be gain."

The Soudan sailed from Plymouth on the 19th of April; the Albert and Wilberforce on the 12th of May. They touched at Liberia on the 9th of July, the writer having had the pleasure of giving letters of introduction to Captain Trotter, to the Governor of that colony. At Cape Coast Castle, the steamers were to be replenished with coals from a store ship, and make arrangements for the ascent of the Niger. It is proposed that the expedition make its first stop at Ibu, one hundred and twenty miles from the sea; thence, with little delay, proceed to the first hills at the apex of the Delta, about forty miles above; thence to Attah, sixty miles; thence to the mouth of the Chadda, two hundred and seventy miles from the ocean, where efforts will be made to negotiate treaties, and convince the natives of the benevolent objects of the expedition. The upper parts of the Quorra, and also the Chadda, may thence be explored. Some parties, it is thought, might reach lake Chad, on the east, or Tumbuktu to the north-west, thus connecting the exploratory journeys of Denham, Clapperton, and Laing, with points to be correctly laid down by this expedition, "which is supplied with twelve of the best chronometers, and with the necessary instruments for a complete geographical survey of the rivers and countries which may be explored. The committee, contemplating such a possible opportunity, has placed £1000 at the disposal of the com-

mander of the expedition, to be used either in some benevolent plans for the Africans, or in endeavoring to gain a more intimate knowledge of the interior of the country. Such journeys as we have alluded to, would not be barely geographical researches, but the traveller would be instructed to carry out to the fullest extent the benevolent objects of the mission, and to procure every information that would, at a future time, enable us the more effectually to become 'The Friend of Africa.'" *

No insensibility to the merits or cherished ignorance of the proceedings and success of the American Colonization Society, on the part of the committee of the Civilization Society; no coldness and neglect manifested towards the writer, as representing the views and expectations of the friends of African colonization in the United States, shall induce him to withhold a just, although perhaps inadequate, tribute of praise to the government and philanthropists of England, for the generous and Christian manner in which they are engaged in endeavors to relieve and bless the most injured and afflicted population of the globe. True, considerations of patriotism may blend with their sentiments of humanity, and the hope of commercial gain prove a stimulus to Christian benevolence, and yet to them may be due the approbation of all virtuous minds. The imperfections of our nature will tinge the best schemes and works of man; and well does it become us, until we can feel conscious of no fault or infirmity, to interpret charitably each other's conduct, and not unkindly question the motives of noble actions. I have confidence in the integrity and benevolence of the African Civilization Society; and,

* "Friend of Africa," published by the African Civilization Society, and to which I am much indebted.

while regarding the plan of colonization developed in Liberia, as above all others important to Africa, I have some apprehensions, that, unless a spirit in her cause, holier and more ardent, animate our hearts, the judgment of posterity will assign to us but a second place among her deliverers and benefactors. If there be cause for such apprehensions, heaven grant that it soon cease to exist. What excuse can this nation offer that no exploring expedition has been sent to the African coast; that no liberal appropriations from the public funds, are made to assist a people to whom good offices are most justly due, to recover their long lost inheritance, and reclaim the barbarous, perishing millions of their ancient mother country? Not that I would lightly regard the expenditures by the State of Maryland, and some measure of aid and encouragement from the government of the Union, yet is it but too true that as a nation we have done nothing in this case to be compared to the greatness of the object, or worthy of our character. We are yet to make, as a nation, our first grand movement for Africa; nor can we act too soon, or with too much power.

A word of the causes that disinclined Sir T. F. Buxton and his associates to the avowal of opinions and the adoption of measures in concord with the views and policy of the American Colonization Society.

First. Convictions, produced mainly by American Abolitionists, that the Colonization Society obstructs the cause of emancipation in America. Our social and political condition, and the condition of the African race in this country, are very imperfectly understood, even by enlightened Englishmen. They do not readily perceive how associations, on the principle of immediate emancipation, in Great Britain, should have proved so mighty

in overthrowing slavery in the West Indies, and that similar societies in this country should prove less effective. They naturally give credit to the publications of American Anti-slavery societies, and welcome to their shores and confidence their agents and lecturers. The most horrible pictures of the wrongs of slavery are exhibited before public assemblies, and the Colonization Society denounced as the worst engine of oppression ever devised by fraud and wickedness. The most shocking instances of injustice and crime in the treatment of slaves, which have been collected and circulated by the Abolitionists on this side the Atlantic, are reprinted and dispersed abroad in England, to strengthen prejudice and inflame the popular passions against our southern States. Thus the English public are well prepared to believe, without examination, that an institution, condemned by American Abolitionists, and supported in part by American slave-holders, is undeserving of approbation. While many intelligent English Christians are compelled to admit Liberia to be a light and blessing to Africa, they condemn those who planted it as hostile to the freedom of the slave in the United States. Their doctrines on this subject, and their ideas of American slavery, are derived from Americans. What was the language of the delegates from American Anti-slavery societies, before English audiences, during the last year? *

* "I lament the *temper* mutually rankling between the slave-holders and the Abolitionists, and am convinced that, so long as it shall exist, the abolition of slavery in this Union, or even in the District of Columbia, is as far beyond the regions of possibility, as any project of the philosophers of Laputa. The multiplication of anti-slavery societies within the last three years has appeared to me rather to weaken than to promote their cause, or at least their prospects of immediate or early success. With the increase

On the 27th of July, 1840, Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison (of Boston,) addressed a large meeting in Dr. Wardlaw's chapel, Glasgow, and among other things, is reported to have said—

"There was nothing so palatable to the supporters of perpetual slavery, as the American colonization scheme. Why, what was the design of it? It was to get rid of the 'niggers,' as they called them — to ship out of the country every free colored person, that the slaves might be held more securely in bondage, and that they might have no temptation to long for freedom from the presence of freemen of their own complexion around them."

Again: "The Abolitionists had a perfect right, according to the professions of those who had taken on them the name of Christ, to demand that they should go forward in the good cause; but where was the American church that was on the side of hu-

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of their numbers, new and collateral questions, always controvertible and perplexing, like parasite suckers from the main stem of the tree, have sprung up to divide their counsels and introduce dissension among themselves. The captious disputations of moral and political casuistry, about non-resistance, defensive war, the rights of women, political action, no Government, the social condition of the colored race, the encouragement given to the slaves to escape from their masters, and exaggerated representations of the miseries of their condition, have eminently concurred not only to counteract their influence upon the main object of their association, but to make them unpopular and even odious, not only in the South, but in all parts of the Union. Their annoyance of candidates for popular election, by putting searching questions to them as tests, importing at once a promise and a threat, has not propitiated to them the good will of any party, and has made them obnoxious to all. The purity of the principle of these formal interrogatories, for answers to be followed by suffrages, is very questionable, with reference to the freedom of elections. The expedient itself has seldom if ever been successful to accomplish its object. It has, in almost every instance, disclosed the weakness of the Abolitionists as a party, distinct from the great political competitors for the favor and the power of the people."

JOHN Q. ADAMS.

manity? Was the church cheering on the little band of Abolitionists? Oh, no! the most deadly enemy of the abolitionist cause was the American Church — it had no flesh in its obdurate heart. Oh, none whatever. All denominations were included; they would give no countenance to a movement, having for its object the cause of religion and humanity. They took the ground that slavery was justifiable — that necessity demanded it — that on the whole it was not anti-christian, and they brought Scripture to prove that it was right to hold human beings in slavery. They hated the doctrine of emancipation. * * * * But when he said this in sorrow against the Christian Church, he did not wish to be understood as saying that all individuals and churches, or synods, were opposed to their cause. Thanks be to God, there were men who loved the abolition cause, but they were hated and denounced as the disturbers of the peace, and attempts were making to bring them under the discipline of the Church, and cast them off. Last year, the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in Philadelphia, came to the conclusion that, as they had no judicial or legislative voice as to the emancipation of slaves, therefore they would not lift their voice in the matter; but they had judicial and legislative power enough to libel those who held abolition views. The Baptists were no better, and the Methodists were, if possible, worse than all."

Again: "It was an axiom with the opposers of abolition, that God had made a distinction between the classes of people, and that we must hate them when we meet them. This was Christian doctrine in America."

At the World's Anti-slavery Convention in London, in June, 1841, J. G. Birney, Esq., among other things said —

"The colonization scheme in his country was the strongest antagonist to the free principle advocated by the friends of the negro; and although it was ineffectual in carrying out the object in view, yet it was not ineffective in its opposition to the Anti-slavery Society."

The Rev. John Keep, of Ohio, at the same Convention said —

"As an American citizen, he might be allowed to say a few words on the state of the question there. They had the American

Government, the American Ministry, and the American Church against them, but their cause was rapidly making way. The state of society in the United States showed them how deep, how forbidding, and how appalling, were the horrors of the American slave system; and how, he would ask, was it for a few philanthropists to go forward to the consummation of the work, unless they were assisted and encouraged by the blessing of God, and their fellow philanthropists on this side of the Atlantic. He trusted that that slave-cursed country would occupy still more of the attention of the Convention, that they would lay aside every thing like prejudice, or that was calculated to keep back British influence, British prayers, and, if need be, British money, to sustain the anti-slavery operations in America."

Mr. Stanton said among other things—

"The northern slave states reared slaves whom the southern states worked into premature graves. The former were the Congos and Guineas of American slavery to the extreme southern states. In raising hemp and tobacco at home, they did not need slave labor. Slavery, therefore, was profitable in the northern states by raising men and women for sale; and he would only say, with regard to their ambassador to this country, that while he was a slave holder, if he did not traffic in human flesh, he was an exception to the great mass of Virginian slave holders, and he thought it incumbent on that gentleman to prove that he came within the exception, instead of the general rule."

"Mr. O'Connel.—He denies any knowledge of such practices in America."

"Mr. Stanton.—Then he is too ignorant to represent the American people here, or too dishonest; for there is on this table a document from the press of his native state, which says that in 1806, twenty millions of dollars worth of slaves, were sold from Virginia to the other states. Virginia not a slave breeding state! in what else is her property but in human flesh?"*

Again in his address at Glasgow, Mr. Stanton said—

"Let the religious bodies in this country resolve to hold no fel-

* Mr. Stanton is a young man from New England, and we have never heard of his visiting any Southern State. We would not, without clearest evidence, have believed that any American citizen would have rudely attacked the Minister of his own country, in the presence of thousands, in a foreign capital!

lowship with the supporters of slavery; would any of them hold fellowship with a church whose members traded in sheep stealing? And which was the worst, the stealers of men with the image of God stamped on their soul, or the stealers of beasts, whose spirit at death goeth downwards? The meeting would perhaps hardly believe it; but it was a fact, that in many places, so perverted were the minds of the people, that a man who should be cruel to a beast, would not be allowed to pass without censure from his church, while not a word would be said were he to flay his slave alive."

Mr. Wendell Phillips, (of Boston,) among other things said —

"The fact was, it might be said of America, in this country, that the sceptre had not departed from Judah — that though the connection had been dissolved between this country and America, as far as holding its own Parliaments and directing its own affairs, yet they were in its vassalage as far as talents and genius were concerned.

"The anti-slavery Abolitionists had eloquent and devoted men in their cause; but the American public would not listen to them. England, and England alone, was the fulcrum by which American glory was to be uprooted for ever. It rested not with America, for it was beyond her power."

Mr. G. Bradburn, of Massachusetts, said —

"Now what is the meaning of the term republic? Why, it meant a state governed for the whole community. Was the interest of the whole community considered by any state, whether a republic or not, where slavery was allowed to exist? Yet such was the state of things in republican America. Why even the Autocrat of Russia, who held his authority from God alone, admitted that the Government should be carried on for the benefit of the people; and he would venture to say, that the Government of Russia was far more like a republic, than the Government of America, for in the latter country they did not profess to carry on the Government for the benefit of the whole, for there it was said all men were born equal with one another, with the exception of negroes. They had not the liberty of the press in America, neither had they religious liberty, for a man in that country could not alter his religious convictions with respect to slavery, unless that conviction was that it was patriarchal."

Mr. Galonsha, (of Vermont, we believe,) said—

"The meeting must remember that there was but one blot upon the character of America. The only apology he could offer for his country was, that it was possessed of the Devil. The delegates from America asked for the aid of the people, through their literature, their religion, and their prayers, to exorcise America, and drive the demon of slavery out of her."

These are but a few sentences (as specimens,) of the spirit and style of speeches, which, (if collected together, would constitute volumes,) were made during the last year by American citizens before large audiences in England. It may be well imagined that they left deep impressions. Most men are influenced rather by appeals to the imagination than the reason; with them, passion rules the judgment. It is more agreeable to nations, as to individuals, to denounce the errors and sins of others, than to consider and correct their own. It is easy to pour forth a flood of sympathy and remonstrance in behalf of the oppressed of distant lands, and reproach those whom we deem guilty of this oppression, while the cry of misery is at our doors, and through our own evil policy, thousands starve and perish in our streets. Censure is often a tax paid by selfishness to hypocrisy.

In the second place, the benevolent of England do not clearly discriminate between the elements involved in the subject of American slavery and the system they have abolished in the West Indies, and their self-complacency in view of their own act of emancipation, disposes them to expect others to imitate their example. Pride is ever the concomitant of arbitrary power. Whatever might be said in defence of the conduct of England towards the West India planters, at the tribunal of humanity or religion, she has, according to Granville Sharp, the great father of English abolition, in forcing emancipation upon

those denied their natural right to representation in Parliament, violated a fundamental principle of the British constitution.* She has reduced the white population of

* How keenly the planters felt the arbitrary acts of Parliament, appears from the following resolutions, adopted by the House of Assembly in Jamaica, 31st October, 1838:

"*Resolved*, 1st. That the act of the British Parliament, intituled 'An act for the better government of prisons in the West Indies,' is a violation of our inherent rights as British subjects, as recognized by the Constitution of this Island, and by act of Parliament, 18 Geo. iii, c. 12; and that the same has not, and ought not, to have the force of law in this Island; and that the authorities will not be justified in acting on it." For this resolution, ayes 24, noes 5.

"*Resolved*, 2d. That the violation of our rights by the Parliament of Great Britain, in which we are not represented, is the less excusable, inasmuch as this House was prepared to enter into the consideration of prison discipline as soon as the report of her Majesty's commissioner was officially before them." Ayes 25, noes 3.

"*Resolved*, 3d. That the House have witnessed with the deepest regret, the unmerited censures passed upon the inhabitants of this Island; the extent to which the public mind in Great Britain has been poisoned against them; the absence of all confidence in the legislature; the reckless manner in which the laws passed by it have been disallowed, and the system of legislation for the colonies, which has been determined on, whereby the power of the House has been fettered, and that body has ceased to exist for any purpose useful to the people it represents." Ayes 24, noes 5.

"*Resolved*, 4th. Therefore, that in the opinion of this House, they will best consult their own honor, the rights of their constituents, and the peace and well being of the colony, by abstaining from the exercise of any legislative functions, excepting such as may be necessary to preserve inviolate the faith of the Island with the public creditor, until her most gracious Majesty's pleasure shall be made known, whether her subjects of Jamaica, now, happily, all in a state of freedom, are henceforth to be treated as subjects with the power of making laws, as hitherto, for their own government, or whether they are to be treated as a conquered

the West Indies to political slavery, that she might raise the blacks to personal freedom, softening, it is true, the despotism of her act by the grant of twenty millions of pounds to those whom she has compelled to yield to it. Certainly, the writer hopes, as all good men desire, that

colony, and governed by Parliamentary legislation, orders in council, and, as in the case of the late amended abolition act, by investing the Governor of the Island with the arbitrary power of issuing proclamations having the force of law over the lives and properties of the people." Ayes 24, noes 5.

Upon the adoption of these resolutions, the Governor (Sir Lionel Smith,) prorogued the Assembly to the 3d of November.

The House of Assembly that met in November, concurred in the views expressed in the resolutions of their predecessors, and the body was dissolved.

The Assemblies of St. Vincent's, and of Tobago, also express their sense of an infraction of their chartered rights by the acts of the British Parliament.

From the work of Joseph John Gurney, who visited several of the West India islands in the early part of last year, we infer that the Jamaica House of Assembly had resumed their legislation, yet several of their very recent acts were, in his opinion, opposed to the true intent and purpose of the act of emancipation. If so, there is little doubt that they will be over-ruled by the home Government.

I have examined with some care, the documents printed by order of Parliament, relating to the effects of emancipation, and the present state of the British West Indies, and find the testimony of the planters and their agents, and that of the stipendiary magistrates, and other officers of the Crown, widely to disagree. I have also read attentively, the letters of that intelligent and eminently Christian man, Mr. Gurney.

It must be admitted, I think, that the crops have greatly diminished, and that much less labor has been performed in the same time, since emancipation, than during slavery. A friend in London gave me a statement of the sugar crop from many estates in the parish of Westmoreland, Jamaica, during the years 1838, 1839, and 1840, compared with the average crop under slavery. The result is, omitting fractions :

her bold and precipitate measures, in this case, may finally augment the happiness of the emancipated, and of the entire population of her West India colonies.

Slave labor, Average crop.	During agitations and process of emancipation, and since.		
	1838	1839	1840
Hhds.	Hhds.	Hhds.	Hhds.
11,000	4,000	3,300	2,000

And yet, Mr. Gurney was assured "that landed property in that Island now, without the slaves, is worth its full former value, including the slaves, during the times of depression, which preceded the act of emancipation. It has found its bottom, has risen, and is still gradually rising. 'I believe, in my conscience,' says Dr. Stewart, 'that property in Jamaica, without slaves, is as valuable as it formerly was with them. I believe its value would be doubled by sincerely turning from all the relics of slavery to the honest, free working of a free system.'"

It is clear that we cannot yet form an accurate judgment of what is to be the social and political condition of the British West Indian colonies. That the views and opinions of the planters are too little regarded, that a rash zeal has stimulated England to wrest nearly every power from their hands, is certain. But diminished crops, and various embarrassments, for a time, of the social system, are evils greatly over-balanced, we must think, by the prospective benefits secured to the emancipated, and ultimately to the entire population. The reports of the Governor, and officers of the Crown generally, represent a great improvement as manifest in the morals, education, and comforts of the liberated slaves. Making due allowance for their desire to gratify the wishes of the English people, we presume this to be true. They, as well as Mr. Gurney, attribute the existing difficulties to unfairness, unkindness, or injustice on the part of the land-owners Certain stipendiary magistrates, in one of their reports, say, "We cannot conclude this reply to the Trelawney report, without remarking, that the abrogation of the apprenticeship has, with astonishing celerity, developed all those elements of prosperity contemplated by statesmen as one of its most important objects, in a degree beyond the most sanguine expectations; as evinced in

But no power, similar to hers, exists; none could be, in like manner, applied to effect emancipation in this country; nor, as yet, are the benefits of abolition in the West Indies, so clear and impressive, so avowed by the testi-

the large amount of capital since invested in this colony; in the purchase of lands at an amazingly increased value, by resident individuals; in the improvement and increase of buildings for social and mercantile uses; in the erection and enlargement of temples for religious worship, and in the improved cultivation and greater care and attention paid to the fencing and subdivision of land; and in the greater division of wealth among the working people, by which their personal appearance and social habits and morals have been improved to a most gratifying, and, considering the short space of time, surprising extent."

We are surprised that Mr. Gurney should be of opinion "that nothing would more serve the purpose of good order and tranquility, in the colony of Jamaica, than the settlement of a magistracy wholly independent of all parties in the island, and paid by the home Government." Alluding to the stipendiary magistrates, appointed by the Crown, he says: "To remove them from their posts, would, in our opinion, be little short of a death blow to the peace and liberty of the colonies. We venture, with great deference, to express our decided judgment, that their original number ought to be filled up, and their office, as local justices of the peace, rendered fully efficacious and *permanent*. These remarks are made without any feeling of ill will or prejudice against the planters and their agents, localized in Jamaica. We entertain warm feelings of regard and friendship towards many of these persons; from all of them, whom we saw and visited, we met with unvarying kindness and civility. We give them credit, in general, for honorable and benevolent views and feelings. But we know the effect on the minds of men, of the circumstances in which they are placed, and have watched the silent influence of local bias. It is a true, though trite remark, that 'when self the wavering balance shakes, 'tis seldom right adjusted;' and hence it obviously follows—I am sure the planters will admit it—that in him who holds the scales of justice, self ought to have no interest whatsoever in the questions to be decided." No *American* could

mony of those most affected by the change, as to put beyond question, the wisdom and benevolence of all the means and measures by which it was accomplished. Though I believe that the present advantages of this experiment are much less, and the evils much greater, than have been represented by its ardent friends, yet of its final good, there can be little cause to doubt. Improvement is the companion of liberty; nor can any free people, in this age, and in time of peace, with means of education and the light of Christianity, fail to rise in condition and in character. But if the citizens of our southern States should examine, with humane interest, the operations of West India emancipation, the people of England should know that so little analogy can be found between society as it existed prior to that act in her colonies, and as it exists in the southern States of this Union,

have written such a passage; no *free people* will ever submit to such an arrangement. How would it suit the feelings of Englishmen, to have the administration of their laws under the control of those, owing them no responsibility, appointed and paid by a foreign people?

With all the injustice which may have attended it, we have termed this work of emancipation a noble experiment, regarding mainly the humane sentiments which prompted it, and the mighty blessings which, we trust, will be secured by it, to a large portion of the human race.

Yet the friends of this work in England should reflect on the following remarks of the venerable John Q. Adams:

"And how was the emancipation of slaves in the British colonies accomplished? By act of Parliament—an assembly in which the colonists had no representation. In direct contradiction to the principle upon which our revolution was founded. If the question had been submitted to the decision of the Legislative Assemblies of the colonies themselves, do you imagine that any such emancipation would have been effected, even for twice or thrice the amount of the indemnity allowed by Parliament?"

that its results, however successful, can shed but a dim and uncertain light upon the prospects of our colored population.

In the *third* place, it may have been thought politic by Sir T. F. Buxton and his associates, to avoid that which must expose them to the hostility of the Anti-slavery organizations of England, as an avowal of confidence in the Colonization Society, would inevitably have done. The movement of the Civilization Society has doubtless already weakened the action of the Anti-slavery party, nor have the latter failed to look with distrust upon a scheme which, it must be admitted, accords in very many of its principles with that so beneficially developed in the establishment of Liberia. The desire to retain the favor of the Anti-slavery Society, may, more or less, bias the judgment of the Committee of the Civilization Society. Truth triumphs slowly over prejudice, and the voice of interest is often more persuasive than hers. Had the Civilization Society publicly and decidedly approved of the character and measures of the Colonization Society, I believe that it would have gained, on the whole, more than it had lost, and that the effect on the mind of both England and America, had been to strengthen between them the ties of peace, while unitedly engaged in bringing Africa and her enslaved and dispersed children to participate in our common laws, civilization, and Christianity.

Fourthly. If the philanthropy of the Civilization Society is not unmixed with the love of glory, and the good and great of England, prefer, to that of any other country, the honor and renown of England, it will but prove human nature to be the same in Great Britain as in America, and that imperfection (if indeed it should be

so called,) belongs to the noblest associations and enterprizes of man. Liberal minds are not yet prepared to erase patriotism from the list of the virtues, nor to war upon those partial affections which entwine with such constancy and strength around the reputation of our country. The pride of Englishmen is proverbial, and they intend no other people shall excel them in deeds which fame shall register. Some fiery particles of this ambition, I imagine, blend with the purer sentiments of the African Civilization Society. May their exertions for Africa excite Americans to holy emulation; nor may either seek other controversies than in regard to methods of well-doing, and how, in the shortest time, the richest blessings may be imparted to the greatest number of the miserable inhabitants of Africa.

Fifthly. Causes of irritation between the United States and Great Britain, tend to diminish the confidence which should subsist between the benevolent of both, in their humane and religious enterprizes, and to sunder all the bonds of union. The losses in England, in consequence of the derangement of our currency, and, in too many instances, the failure of our credit, have, to a great extent, produced aversion to American affairs and American character. The evil effects of a non-fulfilment of our pecuniary engagements, are universal, and like a lurking contagion in the atmosphere, diffusing themselves silently, without observation, but with malignant power.

Finally, That some change is effected in distinguished English minds in favor of the American scheme of African colonization, I think certain; and that the seeds of right opinion will grow and become widely disseminated, I cannot cease to hope. It were worth the labor of any individual, and for the most protracted life, to unite the

hearts of American and English philanthropists, even on this one subject of Africa. But to render both duly sensible of the sanctity of those ties which should bind them together; of the duties of mutual justice and forbearance; of their obligations to seek the things that make for peace; of their responsibilities as Christian nations, to the Divine Author of their faith, the mighty and universal Sovereign—to publish his law, and lift up the signals of his mercy in all lands; were an object seldom surpassed in magnitude and beneficence. Causes, light and trivial in themselves, may confirm peace or lead to war. Nations are but congregated individuals, exposed, like them, to temptation, ruled by similar motives, and agitated by the same passions. They are not less susceptible to respect and courtesy than to injustice. The wounds of national honor are not soon healed. Confidence, once weakened, may not for years, if for centuries, be repaired. Nations, while the general mind is clear and bright with reason and kind affections, rest, ocean-like, in their grandeur; but let this mind be clouded by distrust, or inflamed by vindictive passions, the wrath of the tempest, dashing the waves against the heavens, inadequately symbolizes their terrible and destructive power.

In this age, can the people of Great Britain and the United States, of a common descent, language, manners and religion, enriched by the oracles of Divine wisdom, and as Christians pledged to promulgate, throughout the world, their great doctrines of human responsibility and immortality, unmindful of their trust, incensed and impelled by some infernal spirit of pride and malice, come forth from the temples of the Saviour and the sad emblems of his death, madly to war upon each other?

At such a spectacle, the standard-bearers of civilization and Christianity would grow faint; the friends of God and man everywhere, should rend their garments, and, with uplifted hands, cry out in one voice against the monstrous crime.

To avert such evil, the citizens of both countries should desire to render prevalent *correct general impressions of each other's character;* for, while these exist among the mass of the people, particular causes of irritation or acts of injustice on either side, will be ascribed to human infirmity, and find no soil from which to spring up into active and determined hostility. Between nations, ignorance is too frequently the parent of suspicion, suspicion of enmity. A war could never arise between the English and Americans, were they well acquainted with each other. Steam navigation is bringing us together; we shall soon sit down by each other's firesides, feel that we are brethren, and leave grim-visaged War to hang up his shield, and hold his revels in the halls of Odin.

I TRUST it will be imputed to no improper motives that I conclude this statement with the proceedings of a public meeting, held in London, a few days before my departure, at which Robert Grosvenor (son of the Marquis of Westminster,) presided, and which I addressed in behalf of the general objects of my mission. Under the discouraging circumstances in which I found myself in England, I was gratified that individuals, whose opinion is so valuable as that of those whose names are subscribed to this document, entertained, and were pleased to express, a favorable opinion of my conduct.

"At a Public Meeting held at the Hanover Square Rooms, London, on the — day of June, 1841, it was unanimously agreed, that the following TESTIMONIAL, signed on behalf of that meeting, should be presented to the Rev. R. R. Gurley, of Washington, U. S., as a simple expression of the respect and attachment his character and talents, and his able exertions on his recent mission to England, have drawn around him.

"The undersigned, desiring to testify their sense of the zeal and ability with which the Rev. R. R. Gurley, of Washington, U. S., has discharged the arduous and important mission in which he has been recently engaged in this country, have much pleasure in subscribing the following statement:

"The Rev. R. R. Gurley, for many years secretary to the American Colonization Society, came to England in ————, 1840, for the purpose of endeavoring to obtain, on behalf of that Society, the sympathies and co-operation of the friends and advocates of African Civilization in Great Britain. The subject has already been taken up by many influential individuals, through the exertions of Sir Fowell Buxton; and it was believed in America, that there was a great similarity not only in their contemplated design, but in their proposed means of carrying it into effect.

"Under such circumstances, and with such prospects of accomplishing a great good by a union of strength, collision and interference were as much to be deprecated, as co-operation was to be desired. The object, therefore, of the Rev. R. R. Gurley was, not to seek the assistance of this country in a way that might embarrass the progress of British philanthropy through its own channels, either in a pecuniary or moral point of view; but on the contrary, by offering mutual and equivalent advantages to ensure to each side all the practical benefits and direct encouragement which could be derived from the example and labor of the other. Unhappily several circumstances combined to thwart the Rev. R. R. Gurley in his indefatigable efforts to conduct his mission to this very desirable conclusion. In the first place, at the time of his arrival in England, the individuals with whom it was necessary for him to meet and confer were scattered over different parts of the country, there being only a particular season of the year when the members of public Societies are gathered together in London. In the next place, after developing his plans and laying the foundations for his future movements, it was discovered that there existed certain

differences between the objects of the two Societies, or, if not between the ultimate objects, at least between the modes of carrying them out; which differences were regarded by the principal persons connected with the British Society to be great and insurmountable. And, in the third place, and above all, it was found that the feelings entertained in this country towards the Society of which the Rev. R. R. Gurley was the representative, were of a kind to render the desired co-operation, not only a matter of extraordinary difficulty, but, in the present state of public opinion, respecting the civilization of Africa, absolutely hopeless and impracticable. This last circumstance would have been alone sufficient to have frustrated the efforts of any individual appointed by that Society at any time, to explain its views in England, but occurring at a time when other plans were actually in progress for the benefit of Africa, it presented obstacles to the desired union of the English and American Societies which time alone can effectually remove.

"Placed in these novel and painful circumstances, the Rev. R. R. Gurley never forgot the high trust that was reposed in his hands. Where some men would have abandoned the undertaking in despair, or, risked its future success by the indiscretions of a hasty zeal, he pursued his objects with a calm and patient perseverance that won the personal esteem even of many who still continued adverse to the principles of the Colonization Society. During the period of his residence in England, he has been assiduously occupied in diffusing information through all accessible channels of publicity, regarding the plans and proceedings of his constituents in America. And it may be confidently asserted, that while his statements deeply interested all who were fortunate enough to have the advantage of hearing them, they brought conviction to the minds of some who had previously been either doubtful or opposed.

"Having thus displayed a temper at once firm and conciliatory, and great energy, perseverance, and eloquence, in the midst of the most trying difficulties, it is the anxious desire of the undersigned that the Rev. R. R. Gurley on returning to America should take with him some evidence for his own satisfaction, and that of his friends, that, although his visit to England has not been followed by the results he hoped for, yet that the duty he undertook was discharged with an ability and earnestness commensurate to the

magnitude of the objects it embraced. That the inadequate issue of his labors was to be attributed, not to any want of zeal or intellectual power on his part, but partly to the inherent difficulties of the task itself, and partly to obstacles of a temporary character, which no zeal or power could at present overcome. That notwithstanding the impediments he encountered, he had conciliated a large portion of respect and attachment for himself and his constituents, and that it might be finally stated with confidence, that his mission had been of very considerable moral value as a successful means of removing much prejudice and of promoting that good feeling and cordial friendship which should always exist between the philanthropists of Great Britain and America."

Thomas Campbell, L. L. D.
G. Tradescant Lay.
Julian R. Jackson.
R. Sutherland.
J. Shillinglaw.
Chevalier Dillon, M. L. H.
John Sheehan.
H. W. Masterson.
M. M'Dermott.
V. B. Brearey.
A. B. Wright.
James Blair.
C. Lister.
Henry May.
W. D. Maillard.
L. Costello.
Joseph Adams.
—— Dillon.
J. Blair.
M. Cooper Vanderhorst.
Thomas Hodgkin, M. D.
Petty Vaughan.
Robert Bell.
Joseph Travers.
Wm. B. Costello, M. D.
Frederick Maitland Innes.
Daniel Joseph Carroll, M. D.
Daniel Lister.
Richard Vine.
Edmund Tuke.
John Wright.
Junius Smith, L. L. D.
Andrew Wright.
Richard King.
E. Hogg.
M. Story.
B. Clark.
John Harris.
John S. Lillie.
John E. Jones.

APPENDIX A.

FACTS.

By the original constitution of the American Colonization Society, an annual contribution of one dollar, secured to an individual the privileges of membership, and of not less than thirty dollars, at one time, of membership for life. Those members elected annually the officers, viz: a President, Vice Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, and Recorder, and a Board of Managers, *composed of the above named officers and twelve other members of the Society.* The Board of Managers conducted the business and made annual report of their proceedings to the Society.

The writer received an appointment as agent for the Society in 1822, Elias B. Caldwell, Esq., (clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States,) being at that time Secretary. He was occupied mostly in efforts for the Society, (principally as resident Agent at Washington, in consequence of the ill health and arduous professional duties of Mr. Caldwell,) until the decease of that gentleman in 1825, after which he was elected Secretary. Having commenced the publication of the African Repository in 1825, the duty of conducting the editorial department of this work; the entire correspondence of the Society; the principal arrangement of business for the consideration of the Managers, and the execution of most of the acts and resolutions, up to the middle of the year 1833, devolved almost exclusively upon him. At the anniversary of the Society in 1833, the writer submitted the form of a new Constitution for the Association to the consideration of the meeting.

At the Annual meeting in January, 1834, a Committee was appointed to take into view the re-organization of the Society. This Committee reported a new Constitution, which was adopted. According to this instrument, every citizen of the United States who should contribute thirty dollars to the Society was to be a Life Member, and the privilege of voting at the election of officers was to be limited to Life Members and the Delegates from Auxiliaries, each having the right to send five, and the *Board of Mana-*

gers of the Society were to be composed of the *Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Recorder, and nine other members* of the Society. An additional Secretary chosen at this meeting declined the appointment. It was decided that the Treasurer and Recorder should receive salaries, it being understood that the former would devote his whole time, the latter a large portion of his, to the interests of the Society. Several gentlemen who had not before been connected with the affairs of the Society were appointed on the list of Managers. An earnest (but as has been seen *unsuccessful*) attempt was made at this time to exclude the Secretaries, Treasurer and Recorder of the Society from the Board of Managers, and to render their appointment and duties wholly dependent upon the will of that Board.

During the preceding year the State Colonization Society of Maryland had determined to found a Colony at Cape Palmas, to be aided by the appropriations of the Legislature of the State, and by other donations, and to be exclusively under the control of that Society.

It was expected that the changes in the Constitution and management of the parent Society, which were produced in great part by the votes of gentlemen from the North, would unite the Associations they represented, more closely, in spirit and action to that Institution.

Unfortunately for the resources of the latter, the *Pennsylvania Society* proceeded forthwith *to found a settlement at Bassa Cove, and the New York City Society soon after entered into combination with that of Pennsylvania*, for the furtherance of the same enterprize.

In 1837 the Societies of Mississippi and Louisiana proceeded *to expend their funds in purchasing a tract of country, and planting a settlement at the mouth of the Sinou river*.

Whatever may have been the effect upon the general cause, it is evident that the funds were diverted by these operations from the Treasury of the parent Society.

As two other gentlemen were now associated with him in the office of the Society, the writer was requested to visit various parts of the Union to enforce the object and raise funds for the cause. Of course from the time of this organization up to that which occurred in December, 1838, the writer was absent much from the sessions and deliberations of the Managers.

At the Annual meeting in December, 1837, the following pre-

amble and resolutions were offered by the writer to the consideration of the Society:

"Inasmuch as this Society has, for years past, been suffering under pecuniary embarrassments, and as, from various causes, (among which the partially separate operations of some Auxiliary Societies, and the entirely independent action of the Maryland State Society, and the recently disturbed and distressed state of the pecuniary affairs of the country, must be deemed prominent,) these embarrassments are very slowly, if at all diminishing, the Society are convinced that measures must be devised and executed to augment, very materially, the resources of the Society, or that its operations must be exceedingly irregular and inefficient, if not, in a short time, altogether suspended. Donations to this Institution can be expected only from those who are informed of its principles and proceedings, and who feel an interest in its success. The first thing to be done, then, in order to secure relief from pecuniary embarrassment, must obviously be, to diffuse extensively a knowledge of the views and prospects and condition of the Society, and by arguments and appeals awaken public interest in its behalf. This can be effected only by the Press, by Agents, or by both. And if the Society possesses no adequate means of increasing its publications and agencies, it must proceed upon the presumption that such publications and agencies will sustain themselves, or entirely abandon the cause.

"It is well known that the most distinguished friends of the Society have, from its origin, regarded its exertions as rather experimental and preliminary than as sufficient and final; and have expected that the great scheme of the Society, shown to be practicable by private charity, would be conducted forward to those vast and beneficent results which it was designed to embrace, by the united treasure and power of the States and General Government. It is clear that neither the States nor General Government will apply their means to aid this scheme, until public opinion shall sanction such application, and that *efforts* are indispensable to commend the cause of African colonization to the regard of the American people, before their opinion will ever be expressed in favor of such application. Should this Society neglect to put forth these efforts, to what other means can we look to enlighten and form public opinion on this subject?

"1. *Therefore, Resolved,* That this Society will encourage the

establishment in this District of a weekly newspaper, to be devoted in part to the cause of African Colonization, and that it be recommended to the friends of the Society throughout the Union, to extend their patronage to such paper, as well as to do all in their power to increase the circulation of the African Repository.

"2. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to employ at the earliest possible period at least twenty able and discreet agents, to explain publicly the views, and enforce the claims of this Society, as also to receive donations for its objects; and that the friends of the Society, throughout the country, be invited to give information to the Board of Managers, of gentlemen known to them as prepared and inclined to engage in agencies for this Society.

"3. *Resolved*, That a memorial be prepared, addressed to the Congress of the United States, praying that an expedition may be fitted out, in which commissioners of this Society may be permitted to embark, to explore the western coast of Africa, to ascertain the situations most desirable for colonies; to aid said commissioners in negotiations for such regions of the coast as may be most advantageous for purposes of colonization; and also, praying said body to grant such other aid to this Society as in their wisdom they may deem expedient; that said memorial be printed in the Repository, and that the friends of the Society, throughout the Union, be requested to obtain signatures to this memorial, and forward the same to the Congress of the United States.

"4. *Resolved*, That, in the judgment of this Board, the best reasons exist why all the friends of the Society should press forward in their great work with vigor and hope, not permitting ocasional calamities or pecuniary embarrassments to weaken their resolution or activity.

"5. *Resolved*, That should other countries than Africa, without the limits of the United States, invite the colonization of our free colored population, the subject of extending the constitutional right of the Society to plant colonies in those countries, merits the consideration of the Society."

"It was, on motion, agreed to take the question on the preamble and the several resolutions, separately. The question was accordingly so put, except on the fifth resolution, which was *withdrawn* by the mover. The preamble, the first and second resolutions, were carried. The third resolution was lost. The fourth resolution was carried."

Under the authority and recommendation of the Society, the writer engaged in conducting the "Christian Statesman," which received a liberal patronage, and, for a season, promised to become permanently established. In the course of the year, the present Chairman of the Executive Committee proposed to devote his time and labors gratuitously to the Society, and the writer, much impressed with the liberality of the offer, welcomed him to the field of labor, and moved his appointment with extraordinary powers, as General Agent of the Society, to raise funds, and promote, by other means, its interests, under the instructions of the Managers. The motion was adopted, and the writer took pleasure in speaking both in private and public of the disinterestedness, energy, and zeal of that individual.

At the annual meeting in December, 1838, the constitution of the Society was very materially altered, the following being the fourth and fifth articles, which embody the most important modifications:

"4th. There shall be a Board of Directors, composed of delegates from the several State Societies, and Societies for the District of Columbia, and the Territories of the United States. Each Society contributing not less than one thousand dollars annually into the common treasury, shall be entitled to two delegates; each Society having under its care a colony, shall be entitled to three delegates; and any two or more Societies uniting in the support of a colony, composing at least three hundred souls, to three delegates each. Any individual contributing one thousand dollars to the Society, shall be a Director for life.

"5th. The Society and the Board of Directors shall meet annually at Washington, on the third Tuesday in January, and at such other times and places as they shall direct. The Board shall have power to organize and administer a General Government for the several colonies in Liberia; to provide a uniform code of laws for such colonies, and manage the general affairs of colonization throughout the United States, except within the States which planted colonies. They shall also appoint annually the Executive Committee of five, with such officers as they deem necessary, *who shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee and Board of Directors*, but in the latter case shall have a right to speak, but not to vote. The said Board of Directors shall designate the sala-

ries of the officers, and adopt such plans as they may deem expedient for the promotion of the colonization cause. It shall be their duty to provide for the fulfilment of all existing obligations of the American Colonization Society, and nothing in the following article of these amendments, shall limit or restrain their power to make such provision by an equitable assessment upon the several Societies."

It deserves notice, that the Board of Directors, entitled to vote under this new and present organization, consisted of *eleven* members, only *three* of whom had ever been members of the former Board of Managers.

The writer was chosen Corresponding Secretary of the Society; but, on motion of ——— it was

"*Resolved*, That it be a condition of the appointment of Mr. Gurley to the office of Corresponding Secretary, that he devote his time exclusively to the duties required from him in that office."

The only color for what the writer deemed an implied censure in this resolution, was in the fact that a portion of his time had been, during the preceding year, devoted to the "Christian Statesman," a paper commenced with a view principally of advancing the interests of the Society, from which he had derived no pecuniary advantage, and in giving aid to which he viewed himself as having, if not the express, the implied, sanction of the Society.

This resolution was *rescinded* the next day, and the following, on motion of Dr. Bethune, adopted:

"*Resolved*, That, as in the opinion of this Board, it will be in a high degree necessary for Mr. Gurley to devote a considerable portion of his time to travelling, his salary be increased to two thousand dollars for the present year."

The writer at this time expressed his views freely to various members of the Board of Directors, and especially to the present chairman of the Executive Committee, in regard to the organization and policy of the Society. He desired that no misapprehensions should exist touching his opinions on these subjects. All appeared to concur in the idea that the Christian Statesman and African Repository should be sustained, and that after a temporary absence for a few months in the western and south-western States, he (the writer) should return to conduct the correspondence and discharge the editorial duties connected with his office.

He therefore made the best arrangement in his power for securing an editorial supervision of the Statesman, and departed to visit the western and south-western States.

At the next meeting of the Directors, 27th Feb., 1839, *six* members entitled to vote, being present, the following resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That every officer and agent of the American Colonization Society, appointed by the Board of Directors, shall be subject to the direction of the Executive Committee; and the pay of any such officer or agent, who shall neglect or refuse to comply with the instructions given by said Committee, shall cease."

During the eight months of the writer's absence, he was not informed of the passage of this resolution. It seemed to indicate apprehensions of a lawless spirit, if not of actual disobedience.

Of the course of the Chairman of the Committee towards the writer during this protracted time, nothing more need be said, than that it was entirely consistent with the opinion avowed by that individual, distinctly, for the first time soon after his (the writer's) return, that one person, and that the Chairman, could effectually discharge the duties in the office of the Society, and that it would be expedient for the Secretary to occupy a station in some one of our principal cities. The opposite opinion of the writer was promptly and emphatically avowed.

Though the writer's health had been impaired by exposure, in summer and autumn, to causes of disease along the rivers of the west, he complied with an urgent request to visit Philadelphia and New York, to promote the interests of the Society; and while in the former city, was informed, that the duty of drawing up the report to the general meeting, a duty discharged by him annually, (except in three cases, when it was performed by his able coadjutor, Mr. Fendall,) ever since his connection with the Society, would be assumed by the Chairman and the Committee, and that the public meeting which it had been usual to hold in the Capitol, on this anniversary occasion, might probably be dispensed with. Owing to his engagements for the cause in New York, a severe cold, and the remarkable course which had been adopted in relation to this meeting, the writer was not present, but he was soon favored with a copy of the following resolutions, adopted by the Directors:

"*Resolved*, That the Rev. R. R. Gurley be, and he is, hereby con-

tinued as Corresponding Secretary, and that for the present year, he be absolved from office duties, and act as a travelling agent, according to the resolution heretofore passed on that subject, dated 27th February, 1839.

"*Resolved*, That the salary of Mr. Gurley be one thousand dollars per annum, with the liberty of increasing it to two thousand dollars, out of a per centage of twenty per centum of his collections paid over to the Society. Or, if he shall prefer the same, that his salary be fifteen hundred dollars per annum,* exclusive of his travelling expenses; said salary to be paid at the end of each quarter of the year."

The number of Directors present and entitled to vote, appears to have been eleven, and *three* of them present for the first time.

It is stated in the minutes, that "The Board having received satisfactory evidence that *the Philadelphia Society had given the notice required by the constitution, on the subject of amendments to the same, a committee, (consisting of Mr. Underwood and Mr. Cresson,) was appointed on amendments to the constitution;*" *and, further, that Mr. Underwood, from said committee, moved,* among other resolutions, the following, which was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the constitution of this Society shall be, and the same is hereby, amended in the fifth article, by striking out the whole of the third sentence, in the words following: '*They, (the Board of Directors,) shall also appoint, annually, the Executive Committee of five, with such officers as they may deem necessary, who shall be* †*ex-officio members of the Executive Committee* and Board

*The writer's salary when an agent, had been $600, afterwards $1000; and when elected Secretary, this sum was raised first to $1250, then to $1500. The preceding year only, during an extended tour, was it $2000.

†I have looked into the reports of various benevolent societies in this country and England, to ascertain to what extent the practice exists, of constituting *Secretaries* and other officers, ex-officio members of the Managers or Executive Committees. The following shows the result. Where the Secretaries and other officers are ex-officio members of the Managers or Executive Committee, we have marked it affirmatively.

	Ex-officio Members.
American Home Missionary Society,	Aye.
American Seamen's Friend Society,	Aye.
American Sunday School Union,	Aye.
Board of Missions of Episcopal Church,	Aye.
American Bible Society,	Aye.

General Assembly, Board of Missions, no constitutional provision on the subject, but *elected members* every year.

of Directors, but in the latter case shall have the right to speak, but not to vote,' and insert in lieu thereof, the following: '*They (the Board of Directors,) shall also appoint, annually, the Executive Committee, to consist of seven, with such other officers as they may deem necessary. Four of the members of the Executive Committee*

In the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Secretaries are elected corporate members of the Board, where they have the right both to speak and vote, and may or may not be members of the Prudential Committee, at the will of the Board.*

English Societies.

London Missionary Society, - - - - - - - Aye.
Church Missionary Society, - - - - - - Aye.
Protestant Association, - - - - - - - Aye.
Christian Tract Society, - - - - - - Aye.
Irish Society of London, - - - - - - Aye.
Newfoundland and British North American Society for Educating the Poor, - - - - - - Aye.
Prayer Book and Homily Society, - - - - - Aye.
Royal Naval Female School Society, - - - - Aye.
Religious Tract Society, - - - - - - - Aye.
Home Missionary Society, - - - - - - Aye.
["Also, the Secretaries of all the Associations co-operating with this Society, shall be ex-*officio* members of its Board of Directors, entitled to attend and vote at all their meetings."]
Unitarian Bible Society, - - - - - - - Aye.
The Society for promoting a due observance of the Lord's Day, - - - - - - - - - Aye.
Church Protestant Aid Society, - - - - - Aye.
European Missionary Society, - - - - - Aye.
London City Mission Society, - - - - - - Aye.
British and Foreign Bible Society, - - - - - Aye.
London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews, - - Aye.

British and Foreign Mission, not stated, but recommend the following as part of the constitution of all Auxiliaries: "The general business of the Society shall be conducted by a Board of Managers, consisting of a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and six or more Superintendents of Districts."

London Association in aid of the Missions of the United Brethren, not stated, but recommended to all Auxiliaries the following as part of their constitution:—"That this Association (or Committee) consist of a President (or Chairman) Treasurer, Secretary or Secretaries, and a Committee," &c.

* The following is a note, published in connection with the minutes of the nineteenth annual meeting of the American Board, October, 1828, the late lamented Jeremiah Evarts being then Secretary:

"To the *office* of Secretary belong the following duties:

"1. The general correspondence of the Board, both foreign and domestic;

shall constitute a quorum for business. The officers of the Society shall be ex-officio members of the Board of Directors, and shall have the right to speak, but not to vote."

It appears extraordinary, if not unprecedented, that the Philadelphia State Society should have transmitted a proposition thus to modify the constitution, three months immediately before the annual meeting, to each of the other State Societies, and that an officer of the Parent Society, who had been for weeks before this meeting intimately associated with the friends of the cause in Philadelphia, New York, and other places, and whose relations to the Society, of long standing, were to be vitally affected by it, was left in total ignorance that any such change was contemplated by a solitary individual.

The minutes of this same annual meeting contain the following

"2. The editing of the Missionary Herald;

"3. The writing of the annual report — of appeals to the Christian community — of instructions to missionaries, and other public documents;

"4. The preparation of the missionary papers for distribution among the Auxiliaries and the friends of the cause generally;

"5. The procuring and direction of agents to visit Associations and Auxiliaries, and establish new ones, in different parts of the country, and to extend the circulation of the Missionary Herald;

"6. The procuring of deputations for the annual meetings of Auxiliary Societies; and an occasional attendance at these meetings;

"8. A very responsible agency in the selection and destination of missionaries;

"9. The preparation of business for the meetings of the Prudential Committee;

"10. The general superintendence of all the missions of the Board;

"11. Visits to different parts of the country, on business appertaining to the Board and the missions under its care.

"12. Visits of inspection to the missions, particularly those among the Indians. It is desirable that such visitations be made, if possible, by some one who is thoroughly conversant with the views and plans of the Prudential Committee; and—

"13. Intercourse with the friends of missions from different parts of the country, who call at the missionary rooms.

"In a word, the Secretary must have a superintendence of the entire concern, in its several departments, and in its diversified operations; must carry the whole continually in his mind and upon his heart; must keep himself informed of every thing pertaining to it; must know what has been done, what must be done, and, as far as possible, what can be done; must devise plans, measures, and means, and communicate, as occasions require, to all concerned; and, with unremitting vigilance, must endeavor to give impulse and direction to every part of a great system, designed to convey the blessings of salvation to thousands now ready to perish, and to millions yet unborn."

record: "The Board proceeded to the election of the Executive Committee. *S. Wilkeson was appointed a member thereof, under the style and title of President of the Board of Directors, and Chairman of the Executive Committee.* Messrs. W. W. Seaton, M. St. Clair Clarke, Henry L. Ellsworth, Hudson M. Garland, Richard S. Coxe, and Dr. Harvey Lindsly, were appointed the remaining members."

On the receipt of the resolutions of his appointment, and while yet ignorant of the amendment of the constitution relating to its fifth article, the writer addressed a letter to the Executive Committee, protesting against the resolutions, as injurious to the Society and himself, and reviewing briefly the history of his connection with that Society.

After ascertaining that, by the amendment to the constitution, the office of Secretary gave no longer a right to a seat in the Executive Committee, and that by no act of the Directors was he appointed on that Committee, the writer addressed to the President of the Society the following letter of resignation:

"WASHINGTON, *March* 6, 1840.

"TO THE HON. HENRY CLAY,

"*President of the American Colonization Society:*

"SIR: I have the honor to tender to you, and through you, to the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, the resignation of my office as Secretary of that institution.

"Having been called into the service of the Society, during the enthusiasm of my youth, for nearly twenty years the best powers of my mind have been devoted to its interests, with what ability, what success, my countrymen, the citizens of Liberia, and the impartial historian of the Society and its colony, must decide. Regarding the love of approbation as a motive, if worthy at all, so only in subordination to the sense of duty, I cheerfully leave my reputation to truth, to time, and to God.

"I deem it proper to state to the friends of African colonization throughout this Union, that my attachment to the scheme of the Society is unabated, and my confidence in its success under a judicious organization and wise administration of its concerns, entire.

"The office which I have so long had the honor to hold, and to which was assigned, almost exclusively, for many years, the ex-

ecution of all measures of the managers, having, (in my absence, and without any notice to myself of such a purpose, but on the contrary, with an understanding, for the best reasons, on my part, that my relations to the Society should remain undisturbed,) through erroneous representations, and particularly by the position assumed by the general Agent, that he would share, on equal terms, the duties and responsibilities of the office with no other person, been divested by a recent vote of the Directors, (some eight or ten gentlemen of high character, but little acquainted with the details of the past management of the institution,) of its principal importance, of all place in its Executive counsels and direction; I deem it alike due to the cause, my office, and myself, to retire from a station deprived of its chief attractions for a benevolent and honorable mind. Different individuals may entertain different opinions of what is right and expedient in human conduct, and it is only for me to say, that the facts here stated are reasons sufficient and satisfactory to my own mind, for my resignation.

"Having had no share in the preparation of the recent Annual Report of the General Agent and Executive Committee, nor opportunity to peruse it entire, until after it came from the press, I hold myself in no degree responsible for its literary character, the soundness of its views, or the correctness of its statements.

"To the cause of this Society, my heart is bound by the ties of early and long tried affection. I watched over its infancy, have stood by it in dark and stormy hours, and witnessed with emotions of deepest joy, its growth, strength, and rising grandeur. About to leave it, probably forever, the forms of the Fathers of the Society, with whom I had the happiness to be early associated, men of truth, justice, of magnaminity and holy honor—a WASHINGTON, MARSHALL, MADISON, CRAWFORD, CALDWELL, FITZHUGH, THORNTON, BALCH, WILMER, LEAR, RANDALL, ASHMUN, no longer of this living world,—and those united with them in counsels and labors, still spared to their country, (how gladly, would decorum permit, should I here record their names,) seem to rise before me, claiming at least, my humble tribute of praise.

"To men more pure, faithful, disinterested, of integrity more stern, of more well regulated but ardent zeal, of more sober and sagacious counsels, and with purposes of a loftier and more resolute philanthropy, were the interests of no cause ever entrusted. They com-

menced their enterprize without resources, unsustained by general opinion, and opposed by forces arrayed on opposite grounds, and in different and opposite sections of the country, with a strength which only minds firm and fearless as theirs, could have hoped to defeat. Their plan was to restore a degraded people, long exiled from their mother country to their own distant and barbarous shore, and there elevate them to a national existence, informed and dignified with the spirit of law, literature, liberty and Christianity; that, by their example and achievements, the light of a new day might dawn upon Africa, and the day-star arise in her heart. Difficult in its nature; remote in the place of its more important developments and results, and in the time for its consummation, necessarily exposed to occasional disasters, by the wisdom of their measures, an ever wakeful attention, by years of uncompensated and anxious effort and rare energy, they demonstrated the practicableness and utility of their scheme, and won a renown among the founders of States, which neither envy nor time can darken or impair. To say they were not exempt from liability to error, is but to say they were men; to admit that some errors were committed in the early management of one of the most difficult enterprizes of the age, is but an acknowledgment that ability is acquired by exertion, and wisdom from experience.

"An exposition of the past proceedings or present state of the Society, I regard as not pertinent to the present occasion. I will take the liberty only to express a decided opinion, that no greater injustice could well be done, than to attribute the debt in which the Society became involved, near the commencement of the year 1834, to want of economy, financial ability, or sagacity on the part of the Managers. And further, I may be permitted to say, that sensible as I am of the imperfections of our nature, and more deeply of my own, I can recollect hardly one important measure of the Managers, and no one course of settled policy adopted by them, while I remained in the discharge of the appropriate duties of my office, which I am not prepared to defend before the impartial tribunal of the public mind. That errors may have occurred is probable; that they were frequent and great, such as should have produced distrust or destroyed confidence, is an opinion totally destitute of evidence for its support.

"I have not a thought of abandoning the cause of this Society. If there are defects in its organization, they may be supplied; if

errors in its management, they may be corrected. The Executive Committee (most of them gentlemen recently appointed,) possess ability and energy, and should they assume their rightful control over its measures and operations, may give it strong claims to the generous support of the people of the United States.

"In conclusion, I must be permitted to express to you, sir, the sense which I, in common with all the friends of the Society, must ever cherish, of your early, great, and successful endeavors to recommend its plan to all the States of this Union. Nothing among the acts of your public life, devoted to the cause of patriotism and general liberty, will afford in remembrance more pleasure at its close, (far distant be that hour,) nothing secure to you a higher place in the affections of posterity; and in two quarters of the globe, a brighter and more enduring fame.

"I have the honor to be, sir,

"With the highest respect,

"Your friend and ob't. serv't.,

"R. R. GURLEY."

After this letter was transmitted to the President of the Society, the writer received the following preamble and resolution from the Committee:

"Colonization Rooms,

"*Washington, April* 13, 1840.

"At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, held on the 11th instant, the following preamble and resolution were presented and passed unanimously:

"The Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, entertaining a high sense of the value of the services of the Rev. R. R. Gurley to said Society, with which he has so long been connected, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the Rev. R. R. Gurley be requested to withdraw his letter dated the 5th of February, 1840, declining to accept his appointment as Secretary of the American Colonization Society, made by the Board of Directors at their meeting in January last, and that he continue his services to said Society.

"S. WILKESON,

"*Chairman of the Executive Committee, A. C. S.*"

Those who from a friendly interest in the affairs of the Society had conferred with the Committee, gave the writer to understand, that these resolutions were passed under an impression that if promptly and favorably met, all matters of difficulty would be satisfactorily adjusted at the next annual meeting of the Directors. With this expectation I signified my readiness to withdraw my letter of resignation in the following note:

"WASHINGTON, *April* 14, 1841.

"*To the Executive Committee of the Am. Col. Society:*

"GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your resolution of the 11th instant, requesting me to withdraw my letter declining the appointment conferred on me by the Directors of the American Colonization Society, at their late annual meeting, and continue my services as Secretary to that institution.

"In compliance with this request, and with an unabated desire to promote the cause of the Society, I hereby withdraw the letter referred to, as also my letter of resignation addressed to the President of the Society.

"Very sensible of the kindness with which you are pleased to allude to my past services, and with the greatest respect,

"I remain, gentlemen, &c.,

"R. R. GURLEY."

Subsequently to the date of this letter, the writer was appointed to proceed on the mission to England, and the manner in which the duties of that mission were discharged is stated in the preceding pages.

At the annual meeting in January, there appear to have been present ten Directors entitled to vote, *three* of them for the first time.

The following clauses were added to the fifth article of the constitution of the Society: "*Whenever a meeting of the Board of Directors shall be regularly called, and there are not at least six members in attendance, in such case five members of the Executive Committee, the Chairman being one, with such Directors, not less than two, as may be present, shall constitute a Board, and have competent authority to transact any business of the Society: Provided, however, the Board so constituted, shall carry no question, unless the vote be unanimous. Any two members of the Executive Committee, with the Chairman, shall form a quorum for the transaction of ordinary business; but all appropriations of money, or measures involving the expenditure of funds, other than for the payment of debts previously*

contracted by order of the Executive Committee, shall be approved by at least four members of the Executive Committee."

At the meeting of the Directors on the 11th of December, 1840, on motion of Dr. Reese, it was

"*Resolved*, That Samuel Wilkeson be constituted a Life Member and Director of this Board."*

At the annual meeting a few days after, (22d January, 1841,) "the Board proceeded to the election of officers:—S. Wilkeson was appointed as a member of the Executive Committee *under the style and title of President of the Board of Directors and Chairman of the Executive Committee.* Messrs. W. W. Seaton, M. St Clair Clarke, H. L. Ellsworth, Hudson M. Garland, Richard L. Coxe, and Dr. H. Lindsly, were appointed the remaining members.

On motion of the Rev. J. B. Pinney,

"*Resolved*, That the Rev. Jno. Breckenridge, D. D., be appointed Secretary of the American Colonization Society, under the regulations and instructions adopted the last year in relation to that office."

That able, high-minded, and much lamented man, promptly declined this appointment, in a very pertinent, expressive note, which we hope will be published.

The preceding statement of facts will enable the public to judge whether the writer could, with proper regard to his own reputation, or to the character of the office he had so long held, have decided upon any other course than that which he adopted. He is far from the desire to impeach the motives or conduct of others, yet a reflecting public will naturally inquire into the cause which induced the Board of Directors first to war upon his *office*, and and next to elect thereto another individual. That the members of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee, are, generally, gentlemen of honest purposes, I will not permit myself to doubt. Most of them, however, have been recently elected to their places, and it may be presumed, are very imperfectly informed of the past management, and the various details of the history of the institution. I believe them to have acted under erroneous impressions on many points. This may not be the time or place to correct all the errors which have been published in regard to the bad management of the Society, and the well nigh ruined condition of its affairs, when the Board of Directors were in December entrusted with the management of its concerns. The

* The rule of the constitution is "any individual contributing one thousand dollars to the Society, shall be a Director for life."

seeds of distrust in the Managers at Washington had been sown at the time of the previous organization in 1834, and had been ripening in a soil favorable to their development, from that period up to December 1838. Two or three prominent facts I shall here state:

The separation of the writer from the Society has been effected by the propagation of the ideas that the institution had by mismanagement been brought to the verge of ruin, and that the present Chairman of the Committee, if allowed the Direction, would repair the injuries of its dilapidated condition. The following is extracted from a circular issued by the Chairman of the Executive Committee, dated February 13th, 1839:

"The Society was re-organized in December last. I accepted from the new Board the general agency of the management of the finances of the Society, under the advisement of the Executive Committee, of which I am Chairman. I did so without compensation, hoping soon to see the debt reduced, and new life infused into all the operations of the Society. I regret to say that I find the whole business much more deranged and in a worse condition than I had been led to anticipate. While there is an increasing desire among the friends of Colonization to aid in fowarding the objects of the Society, there is a general unwillingness to contribute to the payment of old debts, which are believed to have been improvidently made. Both State and county Societies refused last fall to pay to the American Colonization Society their funds, unless to be applied to specific objects, and to recommence the legitimate operations of the Society, which had been totally abandoned for more than a year. With these facts before them, the Executive Committee had to pass a resolution appropriating all future collections to meeting the future engagements of the Board. This measure was forced upon us, it was found impossible to raise money, unless the Society could recommence operations. This has been done, not by the money of the Society, they had not enough in the Treasury to pay the salaries due to the officers. The Executive Committee gave their own private responsiblity for about $800, and I gave mine to a greater amount. Not a cent could be purchased on the credit of the Society.

"We hope by great efforts to increase the receipts of the Society so as cover our engagements, and carry on the necessary operations of the Society. To do this will be doing much. We cannot hope that anything will remain applicable to old debts. Nor

can the creditors complain, for had we refused to assume the responsibility referred to, neither emigrants nor stores for the Colony could have been sent out. In fact the Society must have become extinct, as you will notice the collections and donations for the last year, did not amount to the salaries of the officers, and the expenses of their offices."

At the re-organization of the Society in January, 1834, the following resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the Board of Managers be directed to lay before the public, through the African Repository, a full and detailed statement of the origin, rise, and present condition of the Society's debt, having particular reference to the causes and manner of its rise and increase; the times at which it has been incurred; the individuals to whom it was originally, and is now due; and for what, in every case, together with every circumstance, within the reach of their inquiries, here and in Africa, which can throw any light on this subject."

At a meeting of the Board of Managers, on the 20th of February, 1824, Walter Lowrie, Esq., from the Committee to which the subject had been referred, made a report which was *unanimously adopted*. We give the following extracts:

"In the result of their examination, which they now lay before the public, the Managers explicitly state that they have no concealments. In regard to the facts which are here embodied, they pledge themselves that the statement contains the truth and the whole truth. In the discharge of the high trust committed to them, the Managers could at no time have any interest exclusively personal. Some of their number are at present in the Board for the first time, and some have been for years engaged in the direction of its affairs. Some of their former associates, men distinguished for every thing that ennobles the human mind, are now no more; but their virtues and their example will long live in the memory of all who knew them. In no instance has there been any compensation received by the Managers for their services; and the time devoted to the interests of the Society does often interfere most seriously with their private concerns, and most generally it is the only time, which their professional and other engagements allow them, for the enjoyment of their domestic relations. They believe, with the other friends of the Society, that the importance of the trusts committed to them calls for sacrifices on their part; but having assumed these duties, they admit their

full responsibility to the public for the manner in which they have been, or shall be discharged. In assuming this responsibility, they can have no object but the promotion of the best interest of the institution. If, therefore, any mistakes or errors have been made, they are most anxious that these mistakes or errors should be corrected, by any light which experience or additional information may afford; and if any shall occur in future, they will at all times be ready to apply the proper correction."

"From the year 1820, the receipts and expenditures, and the number of emigrants, in each year, have been as follows:

YEARS.	RECEIPTS.	EXPENDITURES.	EMIGRANTS.
1820–2	*$5,627 66	$3,785 79	
1823	4,798 02	6,766 17	390
1824	4,379 89	3,851 42	
1825	10,125 85	7,543 88	
1826	14,779 24	17,316 94	
1827	13,294 94	13,901 74	781
1828	13,458 17	17,077 12	
1829	19,795 61	18,487 34	
1830	26,583 51	17,637 32	259
1831	27,999 15	28,068 15	441
1832	40,365 08	51,644 22	790
1833	37,242 46	35,637 54	108

"It is not deemed important, in this communication, to give in detail all the distinct objects of expenditure; but it is necessary to a clear and satisfactory exposition, that the leading items of expense should be specifically stated.

"In the United States these have consisted of—

Salary of the Secretary,	$1,250
Assistant Secretary, (for last year,)	1,000
Treasurer and Clerk,	750
Postage of letters,	150
Office rent,	200
Printing and stationery, (average,)	1,890
Agents in different States,	1,356
Fuel and other contingencies,	120
	$6,716

IN LIBERIA,

Colonial Agent,	$2,400	
Paid by the United States Government,	1,600	
Amount carried over,		$800

* The amount in 1822 was $778.

Amount brought forward, - - -	$800
Colonial Physician, - - - - -	1,500
Secretary, - - - - - -	600
All other salaried officers, - - - -	4,220
	$7,120

"The Agent and physicians receive also subsistence from the colonial stores.

"This may be called the expense of the civil list, in the administration of the colony, in the United States and in Liberia.

"Here it may be proper to remark, that most of these colonial salaries were not created by the Board, and whatever may have been the necessity heretofore, when the colony was in an infant state, the Managers now consider most of the salary officers in the colony to be unnecessary. The measures which they have adopted on this branch of the subject, will be found in another part of this communication.

"The expenditures in the United States, besides those for the civil list, have been, for collecting emigrants for their embarkation—for subsistence till their arrival—for provisions, subsistence and colonial stores, sent from the United States for their support for six months after their arrival in Liberia—for charter of vessels, freight and transportation—for medicines, surgical instruments, arms, warlike stores and armed vessels; and, also, for the maintenance of three medical students.

"The expenditures of the colony, besides those for the civil list, have been, for the support of public schools; for buildings; presents to native kings; fortifications; purchase of territory; expense of court-house and jail; opening roads, and the founding of new settlements.

"It was at all times the desire of the Board, that all the expenses at the colony should be paid by the Agent, either from the sale of articles from the colonial stores, or by cash in his hand. The ruinous practice of purchasing provisions from the merchants in Liberia on credit, and paying for them from time to time, by drafts on the Board, was never for one moment contemplated, except in cases of peculiar and rare contingency; and yet, owing to adverse circumstances of the last two years, this very practice has been the principal cause of the present embarrassment in the finances of the Society.

"It will be seen that the number of emigrants sent out during

the years 1830, '31 '32, and '33, was 1,598; and, to meet their expenses at the colony, it appears from the Society's books, supplies were furnished and sent out amounting to $40,946 63. In addition to this amount, the drafts on the Board have been $32,939 15, making the entire charge on the funds of the institution, $73,885 78, for these four years, exclusive of the civil list in the United States, support of medical students, collecting emigrants, charter of vessels, freight, and transportation.

"The sum of $40,946 63, vested as it was in colonial store and provisions, was deemed sufficient for all the expenses of the colony. The highest estimate made by the colonial Agent, was at all times less than twenty dollars for the support of each emigrant after his arrival. Estimating that sum for each, the 1,598 emigrants would require for their support $31,960, leaving a balance of $8,986 63 for the civil list and other expenditures at the colony. This balance was in colonial stores, and worth, in Liberia, at least $12,000. This sum was evidently too small for the payment of the civil list in the colony for four years, and for the other expenditures, for objects of a permanent character. The purchase of additional territory, the founding the colony at Grand Bassa, and the purchase of the agency house from the United States, were objects of a permanent nature; and, taken together, tended much to increase the debt against the Society. As a matter of course, drafts from the colony, to some extent, were necessary to meet this deficit. In the purchase of the supplies sent to the colony, the Board had incurred a debt in the United States of $11,708 97.

"In thus extending the operations of the Society, in advance of their means, the Board, it is believed, fell into an error. But it arose, in a great measure, from the want of full and precise information. Additional light would have prevented the outfit of so many expeditions in 1832. The object of the Board was undoubtedly praiseworthy; their accounts from the colony, throughout 1832, were most encouraging. Emigrants offered themselves, and liberated slaves were offered, in greater numbers than the means of the Board would enable them to send to the colony. Many friends of the cause urged the Board to give more vigor to their operations; and expressed the opinion that the public liberality would sustain them in their efforts to increase the numbers of the colony. This desire to extend and enlarge the beneficial operations of the Society, to the number who were waiting and

anxious to go to Liberia, induced the Board to incur responsibilities, both in the United States and at the colony, which, in the most favorable circumstances, would have left a heavy balance against them."

"In regard to the funds of the Society, it is the duty of the Board to be explicit, and to state clearly their future course. It is their intention, as it is clearly their duty, as fast as their ability will permit, to liquidate all their debts, by the application of every sum, above what may be necessary to keep the colony from going backwards. The colony must be sustained by all necessary supplies; the cause of education, and the cause of agriculture there, cannot, will not, be neglected."

The writer feels well prepared to show that the affairs of the American Colonization Society were never more efficiently or judiciously managed, on the whole, than from the period of 1822 to 1834, during which time 2768 emigrants were sent out, and the annual income of the Society rose from $788, (the amount received in the year 1822, when the writer was first appointed agent,) to rising of $40,000. During that time, (in 1824,) he (the writer,) visited Liberia, established, in conjunction with the excellent Mr. Ashmun, the Government of the colony, reported in favor of the appointment of that gentleman to the colonial agency, which, in connection with the manifest benefits of the system of Government as administered by that lamented man, secured for six years his invaluable services; commenced and edited the African Repository; conducted the entire correspondence of the Society, (after the death of Mr. Caldwell, in 1825,) and executed most of the acts and resolutions of the Managers. The report just quoted, shows that, during the years 1830, '31, '32, and '33, 1598 emigrants were sent to Africa, and supplies, to the value of $40,946 63.

How stand the facts in regard to the four subsequent years, viz: from January, 1834, to January, 1838, from the first re-organization up to the second, when the present Directors were entrusted with control? From the letter already quoted, of the Chairman of the Executive Committee, and from the general tone, and many insinuations in the last two reports of that Committee, it would naturally be inferred that all colonization operations had been suspended, but that under the new direction, the cause was coming up as from the tomb, to shine forth in new beauty and life and power.

A comparison between the receipts of the Parent Colonization

Society during any one of the four years (and especially the last,) next preceding the recent organization, and that succeeding it, affords no means of deciding upon the comparative prosperity of the cause in those years, because, during these preceding years, large sums were expended on the colonization scheme, which *never came into the treasury of the Parent Society;* while, during the last, the case was otherwise. When we know that during the four years, $52,625 48, were raised by the New York Society, of which a very small portion only came into the treasury of the Parent Society; that the Pennsylvania Society expended large amounts ($19,000 being acknowledged in a single year,) on the settlements at Bassa Cove, and Mississippi and Louisiana probably not less than 15 or $20,000,* in founding the settlement at the mouth of the Sinou river; the only just comparison which can be instituted is between the aggregate amount annually expended, before the present organization, by the Parent and these other Societies; and that since expended in a like period by the Parent Society, since the income of all has gone into its treasury. We will then put down for the New York Society, (during the four years alluded to) - - - - - - $40,000
For the Pennsylvania Society, - - - 30,000
For the Louisiana and Mississippi, - - - 15,000

Total, 85,000
Amount of receipts of Parent Society, - - 167,234

4) 252,234

Making during this period an average annual receipt of $63,058

Whereas, the annual average receipt since the new organization, has been $57,076 04. Some items, it is true, in the estimated receipts of the Parent Society during these four years, were not subscriptions and donations; and it is equally true, that the $11,074 33, by which the annual income the last year was stated to have exceeded that of any former year, was not made up of such receipts.

In regard to emigration during the four years of which we speak, represented as years of such decline and disaster, the public should know, that it exceeded the ratio of that which has occurred during

* Probably much more.

the two years of the recent organization, the number sent out by the Parent, New York, Pennsylvania, Mississippi, and Louisiana Societies, having fallen little, if any, short of 600,* while the number sent out since the new organization, I am informed at the office, is about 260.

Again of the debt; this was estimated in February, 1828, by the present Chairman of the Committee, at - - $51,059
An arrangement was made for settling with the creditors, by paying one half provided they discharged the Society from all further legal obligation, thus reducing the debt to - - $25,529

On this amount, the Committee, in their report of January, 1840, state there had, during the year, been paid - $6,233 21
Leaving still due, - - - - 19,295 75
And, say the Directors, "There is little doubt of discharging the heavy debts which have so long encumbered the Society, during the present year."

Yet, in the report of January last, we read the following statement: "Old creditors have received, - - $6,757 42
Leaving the balance due, - - - $16,500 00
which it is hoped the means of the Society will be able to discharge in the course of the year."

We must leave the able financiers of the Committee to show how a payment of $14,990 63, on a debt of $25,529, will still leave due $16,500.

But, as we have stated, though we have abundant cause to expose and correct numerous errors in the last two reports of the Society, and, especially, to repel insinuations, which are often more injurious than bold charges, we shall leave the subject with two remarks:

First. That, "if the difficulties (as stated by the Committee in their last report,) experienced in obtaining correct reports of the disbursements and expenses in the colony, no longer exist;" and if, as quoted, from the Rev. Mr. Pinney, at that time the Society's agent in Liberia, under date May 15th, 1834, "From the loose manner in which the accounts have been kept at the Colony, it has been impossible to ascertain, with precision, in what manner the goods have been disposed of, or how the heavy debts incurred

*579, with those which embarked in the Orion, probably not less than 40; though I am unable to find the exact number, in this vessel, stated.

there, were contracted,* it is to be attributed *solely* to the good fortune of the Society in securing as Governor, one, both disposed and able to execute the instructions of the Society. Second, that if any new method and harmony, and energy attend the present operations in behalf of Colonization, it is not to be sought particularly in the official direction in Washington, but in the disposition of sundry State Societies to abandon their plans of separate action, and co-operate by their funds and exertions in the measures of the General Society.

The following paragraph apeared in the Christian Statesman in May, 1838, and the writer has found no cause to change the opinions therein expressed:

"In the years 1832 and '33, the Parent Society, (censured as it has been by friends whose zeal was little tempered by prudence, for excessive caution, and reproached for inactivity, when the whole country was waiting, as it was said, to assist them by generous contributions) sent more emigrants to Liberia than have been sent in the four years since, by all auxiliary societies, if not more than the total number since removed to Africa. It adopted this course in compliance with the importunities of friends, and in confidence, that these friends and the public would sustain them. Its expenditures were a few thousand dollars beyond its means, and a debt still greater, incurred without the knowledge of the Managers in Liberia, added to its heavy responsibilities. What, in this time of difficulty and discouragement, when the enemies of the Society rejoiced, and its defenders were faint-hearted, was the conduct of those whose only complaint of the Managers of the Institution, to that hour had been, "you are too timid, prudent, calculating, confide too little in the benevolence of the country!" A sudden change came over them; they saw new lights; things had been mismanaged; they magnified the difficulties; they talked loudly of the imprudence; they whispered their want of confidence in the wisdom and *energy* of the Society. Separate State action, not independent, only partially separate—still auxiliary, could alone, in their view, save the cause. They were still the devoted friends of the Parent Society. Their plan would add greatly to its resources, and must increase its strength. They destroyed public confi-

* I must not here be understood as expressing any opinion adverse to the Maryland State Colonization Society. That Society isgenerously sustained by the Legislature of the State, and its affairs have been conducted with much ability and success.

dence to a great extent, in the general Society, and then turned the effects of their conduct into an argument to be kindly urged with the Society, why it should yield to their designs. They insisted that their policy alone would meet the approbation of the people they represented; that it was the only practicable mode by which the Parent Society could obtain relief, and that it would give a powerful impulse to the cause. The Managers of the Parent Society made the desired concessions, while several of them earnestly contended that the policy was unwise in principle, though it might be expedient from circumstances.

"We have never doubted that it had been far better for the cause, had its friends remained, as at the origin of the Society—united. Certainly, the benefits promised from their plan by the advocates of separate action of the Parent Society, have not been realized. But whether this opinion be correct or not, it must require other reasons than any we have seen adduced, to prove that a smaller amount of funds had been raised, or less good been effected in this country and in Africa, had the friends of the Parent institution, (when they found it embarrassed by efforts, put forth by a generous desire to meet their own wishes, and satisfy every reasonable expectation of the public) stood firmly by it, and nobly exerted themselves for its relief, than has been realized by the new policy then first invented and proposed, of the separate operations of Auxiliary Societies."

APPENDIX B.

The New York Colonization Society advanced	£100, or $485 00
B. Coates, Esq., Philadelphia,	150 00
E. C. Delavan,* Esq., Albany, New York,	100 00
Hon. Thos. W. Williams, New London, Conn.,	50 00
A. M'Intyre, Albany, New York,	25 00
Total,	$810 00

Expenses, including outfit, passages both ways, rooms, board, visit to Scotland, postage, printing, &c., during eleven months of absence, $1,090.

It is but just to Mr. Delavan to state, that in advancing this sum, his expectation was that I should be present at the World's Convention, and derive benefit from its proceedings.

ERRATA.

Page 255, 6th line from the bottom, for $300, read $3,000.
Page 256, 19th line from the top, for 1824, read 1834.
Page 262, 6th line from the top, for 1823, read 1833.

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